IMAM HASAN

AND CALIPHATE

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point

The life of Imam Hasan (as) was both eventful and full of lessons, and yet the significance of his role seems to have been ignored, forgotten, or eclipsed by the extent of focus on .(Imam Husayn (as

A common misconception is that he was just a peace-maker, yet nothing could be further from the truth. For Imam Hasan (as) was overwhelmingly and popularly appointed as Caliph due to his charisma, knowledge and eminent piety. Then he led the Islamic Caliphate for six months with authority and control, and he prepared his army, leading it .to war against Muawiya and exhorting it to be brave and unflinching

Moreover, the author demonstrates, with exacting scholarship using authentic sources and the motherbooks of history, how there would have been no Karbala without the groundwork laid by Imam Hasan (as). The book also has great value as a manual of instruction on how one should obey the Imam of one's time, in war and in peace .Thus .(making it an excellent way of preparing for the emergence of the Twelfth Imam (ajtf

Editors Introduction

The life of Imam Hasan (as) was both eventful and full of lessons, and yet the significance of his role seems to have been ignored, forgotten, or eclipsed by the extent of focus on Imam Husayn (as). Why has history blackened the radiant face

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of that Imam in whose adoration forty thousand people unanimously raised their hands to pledge allegiance, and the outside of whose house was continually overflowing with ?people

A common misconception is that he was just a peace-maker, yet nothing could be further from the truth. For Imam Hasan (as) was overwhelmingly and popularly appointed as Caliph due to his charisma, knowledge and eminent piety. Then he led the Islamic Caliphate for six months with authority and control, and he prepared his army, leading it .to war against Muawiya and exhorting it to be brave and unflinching

Only when his men became weak at the knees and fell prey to bribery, did he have to resort to peace in order to achieve his objectives. And by that means, he forever made absolutely clear the difference between Caliphate and Monarchy, thus putting an end to .Muawiya's schemes

So what we see in our history and communities is that there is an imbalance of treatment between Imam Hasan (as) and Imam Husayn (as), whereas the Prophet (saws) declared them both as the leaders of the youth of Paradise. This book very nicely redresses that balance by displaying the brilliance of Imam Hasan's (as) leadership, the farsightedness of his thinking, and his iron-like resolve in serving Allah (swt) all characteristics so .reminiscent of his father before him

Moreover, the author demonstrates, with exacting scholarship using authentic sources and the motherbooks of history, how there would have been no Karbala without the groundwork laid by Imam Hasan

as). The book also has great value as a manual of instruction on how one should obey the) Imam of one's time, in war and in peace .Thus making it an excellent way of preparing for .(the emergence of the Twelfth Imam (ajtf

The author, Hujjatul Islam Sayyid Muhammad Qurat-ul-Ain Abidy, has been in the Holy City of Qom for twenty years, first as a student in the Islamic Seminary then as a teacher :of Qur'an Tafseer and Fiqh. Among his publications are the following works

,(Islah Ijtimai Dar Islam' (Social Reforms in Islamic Society•'

.((Sirat-e-'Ali' (Translation to Urdu of the biography of Imam 'Ali (as•'

.(Ghina' (Translation into Persian of a treatise on music•'

He is also a founding member of the Islami Afkar Foundation in Pakistan and a senior .teacher in the Al-Asr organization of London

I hope that this book is of benefit to both scholars, who will appreciate the thoroughness of its investigations, and to lay people, who will appreciate the excitement of a narrative depicting the rise and fall of rulers and the battles fought between them. In particular, students of Islamic history from ۴۰AH – ۵۰AH, and those studying the causes of the shift from Islamic Government (Caliphate) to materialistic Monarchy, will find this work .valuable

(Zahir Davdani (Meng

.Qom - ۳۰/۹/۰۵

Imam Hasan and Allegiance

Although there is difference of opinion among the Muslims about the vicegerency of the Holy Prophet (saws), or in other words, about who should have been the caliph of Muslims after the death of the

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Holy Prophet (saws), Shi'a believe that the caliph should have been appointed by the Holy Prophet (saw) as had always been the practice in accordance with the commands of Almighty God, while Ahlul Sunnat believe that the Holy Prophet (saws) had left the method .of selection of the caliph to the discretion of the people

According to them, if people pay allegiance to a person, then he is a caliph, otherwise not. If for a moment this criterion is accepted, then there will be left no choice but to accept that only Hazrat ‘Ali (as) and the first caliph are caliphs, as the common Muslims had only paid allegiance to these two persons. As against this, the second caliph was nominated .while the third caliph was selected through a committee of six persons

Therefore, it becomes clear that the allegiance by the people alone is not enough for a person to be declared Imam or caliph. On the other hand, it is known that there has always been a difference of opinion among the Muslims about the caliphate and the .(vicegerency of the Holy Prophet (saws

To be just and fair, after the Holy Prophet (saws) it was only Imam Hasan (as)'s eminent and undisputed personality about whom no difference of opinion was witnessed in the .Islamic society regarding his caliphate

Whether the Holy Prophet (saw)'s hadith, or the nomination of the next caliph by the earlier caliph, or the people's allegiance, or the learned and eminent personality of Imam

Hasan (as) is taken as the criterion for the true Islamic caliphate or Imamat, Imam Hasan (as) emerges as the most suitable person among the Muslims of the time for the high .rank of Islamic caliphate

That is why all the Muslim states of that period had acknowledged him as the caliph. The only exception was a group of insurgents who did not pay allegiance and vowed to fight .against him

The Holy Prophet (saws), as extensively quoted by the Shi'a and Sunni Hadith narrators, had stated that there would be twelve caliphs after him and emphatically said that all of these would be from among the Quraish. There is no doubt that the second name among (these is that of Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as). (۱

Apart from this, the Holy Prophet (saws) had specifically mentioned the Imamat of Imam Hasan (as) and his brother Imam Husayn (as) in many of his Hadith. For example:"These two [Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (as)] are Imam, whether they take a firm stand (against an issue or observe peace." (۲

Although the above Hadith of the Holy Prophet (saws) has a deep rooted meaning and many other points to reflect upon, here the Holy Prophet (saws) is emphasizing that the Imamat and the caliphate of these two brothers is so sound that any decision of theirs .regarding peace or war would be correct and would not adversely affect their status

There is no doubt that some Muslims of the time had raised some objections against the

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Hashim al Maruf - 'Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', Beirut, Dar ul T'aruf Dar ul - ۱ .Qalam,۱۹۷۷,vol.۱, p.۳۸

Baqar Qarshi, 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin ‘Ali', Najaf, Matba' al Adaab, ۱۹۷۳, vol.۱, p.۱۰۳; -۲ Taufiq ul ulm -Ahlul Bait, Cairo, Maktaba la Anjalo al Misriyah, ۱۹۷۰, p.۳۰۷; Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', Beirut, Dar ul T'aruf Dar ul Qalam, ۱۹۷۷, vol.۱, p.۵۴۴; Razi .Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum; Munshooraat al Razi, ۱۳۷۳ A.H.. p.۵۲

peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as) and the revolutionary strategy of Imam Husayn (as), but the Holy Prophet (saws) had already replied to these objections in advance and had instructed the Muslims to follow them in all conditions, whether in peace or war, and to .treat them as their Imam

Similarly there is the following Hadith of the Holy Prophet (saws) which has been quoted repetitively by the historians: "This son of mine is the leader and Almighty God will (arrange peace between two groups through him." (۱

If this hadith is true), then it is clear that Imam Hasan (as) had the eminent status due to) which the two groups acknowledged him as their leader and guide, followed him and accepted the peace arranged by him. There is no doubt that caliphate is another name of .such an eminent position and undisputed personality

Similarly, if the nomination of a caliph is taken as the criterion of caliphate, then history records that Hazrat 'Ali (as) had assigned many responsibilities to Imam Hasan (as) on different occasions and had directed him to lead the prayers in his place just before his martyrdom. Imam Hasan (as) was his vicegerent about treating Ibn. Muljim, the assassin .of Imam 'Ali (as), and about other issues

According to Shi'a narrations, Amirul Muminin Hazrat 'Ali (as) had made the following will :in favour of him just before his martyrdom

O my son, you are the caliph after me and you are the vicegerant after me regarding my" ."assassin

Regarding

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This hadith has been quoted by nearly all reliable historians. Majlisi - Bihar al-Anwar, - ۱ .Beirut, Muassah al Wafa, ۱۹۸۳

the above will, he had taken as witness not only Imam Husayn (as), Muhammad b. Hanafia, his other sons, but a number of prominent Shi'as well. Afterwards he gave his copy of the Holy Qur'an and his armament to him and said that these had been given to him by the Holy Prophet (saws) who had directed that he should hand over these to him, (declaring him (Imam Hasan (as)) as his heir. (۱)

As against this, some historical records show that when Imam 'Ali (as) was asked as to whom he was nominating the caliph, he had declined to name anyone and had left it to .the choice of Muslims

We feel that such narrations are far from the truth and have been concocted by those who were bent upon declaring allegiance or consultation ('shura') as the basis for caliphate, because the views of Hazrat 'Ali (as), as reflected in Nahjul Balaghah and other .historical books, are quite different

He considered only the Ahlul Bayt (as) and members of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) as fit for caliphate and in the presence of Imam Hasan (as), he would normally have appointed him as the caliph. Again, if the conditions prevailing at the time are taken into account, the caliphate and the government of Hazrat 'Ali (as) was facing a crisis .situation

Nearly all historical narrations record that at the time Hazrat 'Ali (as) was preparing for a decisive battle against Muawiya and forty thousand soldiers had vowed to fight along with

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".(Baqar vol. ۴۳, p.۳۲۲ ('Tarikh al Hasan al Zaki' - extract from "Kafi -۱

him till death. In that situation, for sure he was likely to appoint as his heir and next in command a person who would truly guide a large army and uproot the rebellious group in an appropriate manner. Not doing so would have endangered the center of Islamic (caliphate! (۱

Not only is it that no objection against the caliphate of Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as) was raised by the Muslims of the time, but rather the whole Muslim history records that .Muslims up to the current period regard him as their Imam and caliph

Despite so many other differences among them. 'Ahlul Sunnat wal Jama'at' consider him as the orthodox caliph and claim that the Islamic caliphate ended for ever after Imam Hasan (as) and the monarchical system commenced. They further quote that his grand :father, the Holy Prophet (saws), had earlier prophesied the same in the following words

(The caliphate will last thirty years after me. After that, it will be monarchy." (۲"

According to the historians, the thirty years were completed when Imam Hasan (as) agreed for peace with Muawiya and handed over the outwardly power to him. The above hadith is not only well known but the learned and the old nobles among Ahlul Sunnat treat .Imam Hasan (as) as the true Islamic caliph

On this basis an objection can be raised against those scholars who, writing about caliphate and monarchy, have mentioned only four orthodox caliphs of Islam and have thus ignored Imam Hasan (as), while there is no doubt

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Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut: Dar Ahya al Turas, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲ p. ۴۴۵; Tabari - -۱ 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۴; Husayn Dayar Bakari - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassah Shabaan, vol. ۲, p.۳۸۹; Ibn. Khaldoon, 'Tarikhe Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, Muassah A'la mi, lil Matboo'at ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, p. ۱۸۶; Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al M'arif ۱۹۷۴, vol. ۸ p.۱۴; Muhib al Tabari - 'Dhakair al Uqba, Cairo, Maktaba al Qudsi, ۱۳۵۶ A.H., p. ۱۳۹; Dr. Hasan Ibrahim - 'Tarikh al Islam', Beirut, Dar Ahya al Turas al Arabi, ۱۹۶۴, vol. ۱, p.۲۷۴; Carl Brockelmann - 'Tarikh al Sh'ub al Islamiah, .Beirut, Darul Ilm lil- Mabain, ۱۹۶۵, ۴th edition, p. ۱۲۰

Ibn. Sabbagh al Maliki - 'al Fusul al Muhimmah, Najaf, Darul Kutub, p.١۴۶; Ibn. . -٢ Khallakan - 'Wafayat al-'ayan', Qum, Manshurat al Razi, ١٩٨۵, vol. ٢, p.۶۶; Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al M'arif, ١٩٧۴, ٢nd edition, vol. ٨ p.١۶,and vol. ۶ p.٢٢٠ (the book 'D alail al-Nubuah'); Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzabe Tarikhe Damishq', Beirut, Darul Ahya al-Turas ١٩٨٧, ٣rd edition, vol. ۴, p.٢٢; Ibn. Asakir - 'Tarikh Madinate Damishq, Tarjuma al Imam al Hasan' (Al Mahmudi research) Beirut, Muassah al-Mahmudi, ١٩٨٠, p. .١٧١, tradition No. ٢٨٩; Masudi - 'Murawwij al Zahab', Beirut, Dar ul Fikr, ١٩٨٩, vol. ٣, p.٧

that monarchy commenced with Muawiya and there is a gap of six to eight months between the same and the martyrdom of Hazrat 'Ali (as), which is the period of the .(orthodox caliphate of Imam Hasan (as

Though a lot can be written on the issue, let us see what details history has recorded about the allegiance to Imam Hasan (as). It was a little before dawn on the ۲۱st Ramadhan and the people in the city of Kufa were mourning the martyrdom of Amirul .(Muminin Hazrat 'Ali (as

Apart from Kufa, the sorrow and shock of the martyrdom of Hazrat 'Ali (as) was being felt by Muslims in all other cities as well. According to the will of Hazrat 'Ali (as), Imam Hasan (as) had performed his burial rites along with a group of Imam 'Ali (as)'s followers. At the .same time a large number of Muslims were awaiting him in the mosque of Kufa

These included not only the residents of Kufa and those who had come from the nearby areas, but also well-known personalities among the Muhajireen and Ansar and the sincere and trusted companions of his father Hazrat 'Ali (as). All of them performed their morning prayers under the leadership of Imam Hasan (as), who gave a long sermon on .this occasion of grief

In the sermon he paid tribute to the leader of the pious ones in a manner most appropriate to the unique and unparalleled personality of the late Imam (as). All the historians have quoted

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this sermon, with very little variation. After duly praising Almighty God for His beneficence and mercy and invoking God's blessings on the Holy Prophet (saws) and his progeny, he :said

This night has gone beyond this transitory world a person whom no one had surpassed" earlier and none would be his equal in future. There is no doubt that he was with the Holy Prophet (saws) in the religious wars and used to protect him even to the extent of putting .his own life at risk

On any mission that he was assigned by the Holy Prophet (saws) to lead, Gabriel used to be on his right and Michael on his left, and he would not return until Almighty God had .granted him success

He has been martyred in the same night in which Prophet Moses b. Imran had died, .Prophet Jesus Christ was elevated to the sky and the Holy Qur'an was revealed

He has not left any worldly wealth except seven hundred Dirham, which were left over from his distribution as he wanted to make arrangement for a servant for his household and these too he has instructed me to return to Bait ul Maal." After the above words, tears welled up in his eyes and seeing him in such grief about his father, the whole .gathering wept and cried

After a while, when quietness had returned to the mosque at Kufa, Imam Hasan (as), continuing his sermon, said: "O men! Apart from those who know me, those who

don't, should be aware that I am Hasan, son of 'Ali (as), I am the son of the Holy Prophet .(saws) and the son of his heir

I am the son of one who has been called the lamp resplendent, I am one of the Ahlul Bayt to whom Gabriel used to come and fly back from them, I am from the family of the Holy Prophet (saws) which has been kept away from every kind of uncleanliness by Allah and .He has purified us with a thorough purification

Our love and respect has been made obligatory by Allah on every Muslim (man and :woman). In the Holy Qur'an Allah has commanded

Say (O Muhammad) "I do not ask of you any recompense for it (the toils of the prophet' ship) save love of (my) relatives" and whoever earns good, We increase for him (more (and more) good therein.' (۴۲:۲۳

."So, earning good really is our love

:The learned scholar Sheikh Razi Aale Yasin, explaining the above sermon, writes

While paying tribute to his father, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) adopted a unique style which is" unparalleled. Neither he referred to the respectable life and great achievements of his illustrious father, nor his learning, modesty, eloquence, bravery, high status, noble .genealogy was narrated, as is the normal practice

He adopted such a unique approach which cannot be traced in any other historical record. Imam Hasan (as) viewed Hazrat 'Ali (as) from a moral and religious angle. It is clear that really one Imam is focusing his

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attention on the one who is another Imam. Thus, the one leaving this transitory world was such a unique personality that his life, viewed from any angle, was unmatched even .by the trusted angels, holy men or the pious persons

He is a human being yet such a being that neither any person earlier than him nor later could equal him. He is a human being but surrounded by Gabriel and Michael, isn't he an ?angel-like person

He leaves the earthly life on the same day that Prophet Jesus Christ was elevated to the" sky, he was martyred the same day that Prophet Moses had died, he is lowered in the grave the same night that the Holy Qur'an is being revealed."These are the levels of high status that are attained by the trusted angels, 'ulul azm' prophets (possessors of .determination) and the holy books

He was such a person who used to fight along with the Holy Prophet (saws) and would" protect him even putting his own life at risk. When he was worthy of such high rewards in the hereafter, then one can imagine what his worldly qualities and achievements would (be!!" (۱)

As mentioned by the learned scholar, Imam Hasan (as) adopted a unique style while describing the life of the leader of the pious ones. Similarly, his manner of introducing himself was also unique. He not only explained his close relationship with the household .of the Holy Prophet (saws), indicating his own very close lineage

But also referred to the relevant

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.Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum; Munshooraat al Razi, ۱۳۷۳ A.H. pp.۵۶-۵۷ -۱

verses of the Holy Qur’an which proved that he was one of the five persons who had been kept away from every kind of uncleanliness by Allah and He had purified them with a thorough purification. This means that he had an ideal character and belonged to that illustrious family of piety and chastity whose love had been made obligatory on all Muslim .men and women by Almighty God

A question arises as to who can be more fit for caliphate and to be a candidate for the leadership (Imam) of the Muslims than the one who belonged to such a distinguished and pious family, whose character was an ideal one where there was no chance of error, and ?whose love has been made obligatory on every Muslim man and woman

That was the reason that as soon as he had finished his sermon, his uncle and the governor of Hazrat ‘Ali (as) in Yemen, Ubaidullah b. Abbas, got up and invited the people to pay allegiance to Imam Hasan (as), and said: "O men! He is the son of the Holy Prophet ((saws) and the heir to your Imam. So, pay allegiance to him." (۱)

People welcomed the offer of allegiance and soon became the followers of such a respected leader through the allegiance. They showed the love and respect that they had for the son of the Holy Prophet (saw), indicated the right that he had over them, and the fact that none had a greater right to caliphate

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۱- Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۵۸; Abul Faraj, 'Maqatil al Talibin, Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariyah, ۱۹۶۵, vol. ۱, p.۳۳; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۶; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar al Ta'ruf lil Matbu’at, ۱۹۷۷, vol. ۳, p.۲۸; Hashim al Maruf - 'Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, p.۵۰۱

!and allegiance than him

Perhaps it was for the first time that a city like Kufa, despite all sorts of differences, disunity and being a hot bed of intrigue, had shown such unity while taking such a major decision. The first person who came forward to offer allegiance to Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was Qais, the son of S'ad b. 'Abadah Ansari. Qais was a close follower of Hazrat 'Ali (as) .(and had been his representative in Azerbaijan during the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as

While Hazrat 'Ali (as) was planning for a decisive war against Muawiya before his martyrdom, he was commanding a very important regiment called 'the Thursday soldiers' ('Shurtah al Khamis'), which was similar to the Elite Commandos of today. Anyway, Qais came forward and said to the Imam (as): "Kindly extend your hand so that I may pay allegiance to you in accordance with the commands of the Holy Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (saws) and to fight against those who declare lawful what has been ."forbidden by Almighty Allah

The grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) looked at S'ad with kindness and love and said: "the allegiance in accordance with the Holy Book revealed by the Gracious God and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet includes all that is right and excludes any other unnecessary .condition

As prayers, fasting, zakat (the religious tax) and other obligations have been made compulsory according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, similarly to fight against those creating disturbance, the

traitors and those declaring lawful what has been forbidden by Almighty God, has been made obligatory by Him.

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) further stated: "I can accept your allegiance on the condition that you will fight with one with whom I fight and will observe peace with one with whom I make peace." (۱)

Some historical records show that after hearing these words from the Imam (as), some persons started doubting his willingness to wage war while those who were favouring peace and understanding, felt that he would fight just like his illustrious father. We will discuss these points in detail in subsequent chapters.

After the Imam (as) had expressed the above words, Qais b. S'ad paid allegiance to him and the masses in large numbers vowed to follow him and immediately started to pay allegiance to him as the true Islamic caliph. Apart from Kufa, Basra, Hijaz, Yemen, Persia and all other areas that were in the caliphate of his illustrious father also accepted him as the true Islamic caliph and came under his rule.

No city, not even the holy cities of Makkah and Madina, raised any voice of dissent or opposition. Only the group of traitors, who had not accepted the caliphate of Imam 'Ali (as), considered this allegiance as a threat to them and started their nefarious activities.

Commenting on the above event, Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri in his book 'Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam,' writes: "The election of Imam Hasan (as) as the caliph, without any opposition or

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۱- Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar al Ta'ruf lil Matbu'at, ۱۹۷۷, vol. ۳, p.۲۹; Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al M'arif. ۱۹۷۴, vol. ۸ p.۱۷; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', vol. ۲ p. ۴۴۳; Ibn. A'sam - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Ma'arif al Usmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۴۸; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq', Beirut, Darul Ahya al-Turas al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, vol. ۴, p.۲۲۳; Ibn. Asakir - 'Tarikh Madinate Damishq, Tarjuma al Imam al Hasan', Beirut p. ۱۷۴; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', vol ۳, p. ۱۶۷.

objection from Kufa, Hijaz or any other area, is a clear evidence of his capabilities, nobility and high status. Qais b. S'ad b. 'Abadah, the sincere companion and loyal general of .(Hazrat 'Ali (as) was the first person to pay allegiance to Imam Hasan (as

The forty thousand soldiers, who had vowed with Hazrat 'Ali (as) to fight against Muawiya till death, congratulated him on being elected the caliph. Outwardly expressing his own feelings and those of the Iraqi army, Qais tried to include, along with following the Holy Book and Sunnah, war against 'Muhilleen', i.e. those who had considered permissible .what Allah had forbidden, as one of the basis of allegiance

However, Imam Hasan (as), explaining that it was included in the first two conditions, convinced him to delete this condition. The Iraqi soldiers, who were inclined to fight against Muawiya, did not want to delete this third condition, yet they all paid allegiance to him despite the same. Later events show that perhaps Imam Hasan (as) was .apprehensive that Iraqis would run away from war at an hour of trial

Therefore, he did not want to bind himself under an emotional decision which might result in the total destruction of persons. Despite all that, according to the majority narrations, all those who were present on the occasion, paid allegiance on the specific condition that they will fight one who wages war against Imam Hasan (as) and would make peace with ."whom the Imam (as) made peace

He further writes that

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the declaration of the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as) from Iraq and its support from Hijaz, Yemen, Faras and other areas, meant a great danger to Muawiya, who had started his (scheme to capture power soon after the death of Uthman. (۱

After the allegiance, the Imam (as) got down from the pulpit and got busy in earnest in performing the responsibilities of caliphate. The appointment of the governors, other responsible office bearers of the vast territories and the solution of many other issues .(was taken in hand in earnest by the noble Imam (as

Historical Background of Kufa

In Shi'ite history, Kufa has had a central position. From the time of the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as) to the revolutionary period of Imam Husayn (as) and further till the steadfast and .firm stand taken by Hazrat Mukhtar, many important incidents took place there

One of the most important of these was the peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as). It would be appropriate to give a brief description of the historical background of Kufa before the peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as), so that the conditions through which the residents of .Kufa were passing or had faced earlier, would become clear

Kufa was founded in ۱۷ A.H. when the Muslim army had achieved success in the Qadsiya wars and the ۲nd Caliph had asked S'ad b. Abi Waqas, the commander of the Muslim army to stay on in Iraq. This way he could advance towards Persia after strengthening the Muslim army. However, the Muslims

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۱ -, Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam' (Persiantranslation) Dr. Ayet Ilahi, Tashay'o dar Tarikh, Tehran, Islamic Cultural .Publishing Centre, ۱۹۹۳, pp. ۱۵۸-۱۶۱

soldiers were on the lookout for a site which may, apart from being a suitable place for .the army, offer a good climate and have suitable living conditions

After a two year search, a location on the western side of the river Euphrates was selected as the army garrison, where Muslim soldiers could come from other cities to .stay, and after getting due training, plan for an attack on the then great Persian kingdom

In the beginning Kufa had a population of ۲۴,۰۰۰, of which twelve thousand were from southern Arabia (Yemen) while eight thousand were from northern Arabia (Nazaar). Apart from these, there were four thousand Persian prisoners of war or slaves who had been .arrested during Qadsiya battles and had converted to Islam

Initially, Kufa was inhabited by those persons who had come to fight in the Qadsiya wars, but later, Muslims migrated to the city from other cities. After the decline of the great Iranian kingdom, a large number of Iranians had also settled there. These were in .addition to those whom the Muslims had brought as their slaves or maids

By the time of the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as), a new generation from the maids had grown up. Apart from the Muslims, a sizable number of Christians from Najran had also settled there. It is said that at the time of the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as) there were forty thousand Muslim soldiers, and Kufa and its population has been estimated at about one hundred thousand

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.inhabitants

Whereas other cities normally had a tribal set up, Kufa, having been founded on conquest and strategic considerations, consisted of persons from different tribes and areas. Due to these conditions, S'ad b. Abi Waqas faced many problems in settling the persons of different colour and race under various tribal groups or to assimilate them in one social .and cultural set up. After some time he divided them into seven groups

It has been reported that during the period of the ۲nd Caliph, some effort was made to spread Islamic culture in Kufa and to train the Muslim army on an Islamic pattern. For this .purpose, Ammar Yasir was appointed the governor of Kufa

However, due to the fact that the caliph used to treat the Muslim soldiers better through the distribution of Bait ul Maal, and the number of slaves and maids had considerably increased due to extensive victories. The values had changed and wealth, authority and .such other considerations had taken the place of Islamic and moral values

As a result, the wealthy persons had acquired a much higher status in Kufa. Later, during the rule of the ۳rd Caliph, with the appointment of Walid b. 'Aqaba as governor, the tribal aristocracy was revived and the Islamic values were even ridiculed. During this period, the Umayyads had attained domination in the politics of Kufa but the religious and the faithful persons of Kufa could not bear the ridicule of religious values and stood against .the rulers

Thus Kufa had become divided into

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different groups. On one side was the religious group who were devoted to the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah, while on the other side was the ruling clique who wanted to strengthen its rule and the capitalistic system. During the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as), the religious group had attained an upper hand in Kufa as many Muhajirin, Ansars and the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saws) had immigrated there due to its .becoming the capital

Apart from it, a large number of Shi'as had appeared in Kufa during the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as). However, the influence of non-believers and tribal chiefs, who had been against the religious group from the beginning and had been intriguing against religion .ever since, was not an insignificant one

That is why the residents of Kufa had, in the beginning, decided to remain neutral in the camel ('Jamal') war and the religious group had not succeeded in their efforts until the arrival of Imam Hasan (as), who succeeded, after long discussion, in recruiting twelve thousand soldiers for the army, though forty thousand soldiers were present there at the .time

During the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as), another group, known as 'Khawarij' had gained considerable influence in Kufa. These persons had become the enemies of Hazrat 'Ali (as) after the Siffin war and had particular, specific ideas. It is said that their speeches used to .swiftly influence the thinking of the people who were accepting their ideas

The common people were confused, being

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divided into these three groups. Due to the varying views, ideas and opinions, they were unable to decide who was right and who was wrong! For further understanding the conditions prevailing at the time of the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as), three points should :be well understood

After crushing the internal rebellion of the camel ('Jamal') war, Hazrat 'Ali (as) decided in ۳۶ A.H. to declare Kufa as the capital. There is no doubt that this was a major step in the history of Kufa. The historical records do not reflect any clear reason for this decision. No historian has given any indication that the Imam (as) wished, before the 'Jamal' war, to .announce the shifting of the capital to Kufa

However, some researchers have written that when the Imam (as) heard the news of the death and destruction by the rebellious group in Basra, he was busy at the time in preparing for war against the insurgents of Syria. But, realizing the nature of the .rebellion, he had to postpone the earlier war plans and to march towards Basra

After restoring peace in Basra, his first priority was to bring the Syrian insurgents back on the right path as directed by Almighty Allah and to fight them, as ordered by the Holy Prophet (saws). From a military point of view, Kufa was an ideal location where a large .Muslim army was present and soldiers from other areas could also be gathered there

Moreover, he could also contain the internal and external

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conspiracies which had been hatched against the Muslims and reached a city like Kufa. One link of these conspiracies was the 'Jamal' war itself which had been planned by the .Syrian rebellious group, and was difficult to control from Madina

The historical perspective described here makes it clear that a majority of the influentials in Kufa belonged to the group of self-seekers and those after status. They had old associations with the mutineers of Syria. Although they were with the leader of the faithful in the Siffin war, yet behind the scenes they had been intriguing against the Imam (as). These aversive intrigues at first led to the Imam (as)'s outward set back in the Siffin .war, the disobedience of his orders, and finally his martyrdom

From the above facts it can be concluded that in addition to differences due to race, colour, ideas and beliefs, Kufa was also a hot bed of malice, mistrust and intrigue. The main aim of the intrigues was to weaken the truly Islamic Alavi government. So, these extended till the time of Imam Hasan (as) and beyond. Imam Hasan (as) also faced great danger due to these intrigues, as they had reached a crisis stage during the time of his .caliphate

It is a historical fact that the residents of Kufa used to say so many things emotionally, yet at the moment of trial they would run away from the battle field and lacked patience and steadfastness. This fact emerges more clearly at the time when Imam

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Husayn (as) went to Kufa at the invitation of its nationals and wished them to participate in his revolution. Then the people advised him otherwise, explaining the nature of the residents of Kufa as follows:

No doubt their hearts are with you, but their swords are with your enemy", which meant" that those people were very emotional while expressing love, regard and respect for someone but would abandon him at the time of trial and tribulation. At that time they only worried about their personal interests.

There is no doubt that in the Siffin war these people were responsible for the leader of the faithful suffering a set back from a victorious position they did not follow the command of Imam Hasan (as) for war and left him alone at Madain, due to which the carpet was pulled under his feet and he was severely injured in a dagger attack.

Subsequently, when Hujr b. Adi, the Companion of the Holy Prophet (saws), started a movement against the representative of Muawiya, the residents of Kufa withdrew their support for him at a difficult hour. Hazrat Muslim b. Aqeel faced the same fate and Imam Husayn (as) had to face untold problems and tribulations, even though it were the residents of Kufa themselves who had invited Imam Husayn (as) to come to Iraq.

We have to regretfully state the fact that when the historians discuss the peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as), they ignore these hard realities, as if the residents of Kufa had, against

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their very nature, become fully prepared for war and that Imam Hasan (as) had ordered them to accept peace to avoid bloodshed!

There is no doubt that a large number of Shi'a and the devotees of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) ('Ahlul Bayt') were present in Kufa, who had faith in Imam Hasan (as) and accepted him as their caliph and Imam, but only till such time as their own interests were not endangered and Imam Hasan (as) had not instructed them to face any major responsibility. There were very few Shi'a who were determined to remain faithful to the Imam (as) till death.

The time of the accession to caliphate of Imam Hasan (as) was such a sensitive and difficult one that the people of Iraq had by then become extremely disheartened due to prolonged internal wars. The wars had resulted in huge destruction and their social and political conditions had become miserable.

The people of Iraq were facing a very cunning and formidable enemy. Under the leadership of Hazrat ‘Ali (as), they had tried, in the Siffin war, to finish off the rival who was based in Syria, but the war did not result in success due to some moneyed persons and self-seeking officers. A number of wars continued later till the people got tired of the same, so much so that they started disobeying the orders of the leader of faithful himself.

The unending wars, beginning with the camel ('Jamal') war, and continuing with the Siffin war,

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the Nahrwan war against the 'Khawarij', the skirmishes with the detachments of the Syrian army sent by Muawiya, and the use of the army to quell revolts in certain areas all had resulted in a situation where the people of Kufa had started to betray the leader of .the faithful

They had openly started to disobey Hazrat ‘Ali (as) due to which the Imam (as) had condemned them. In the sermons of the Imam (as), quoted in 'Nahjul Balaghah', his views are clearly reflected. He states that while the people had become tired and sad, they had also disappointed him. Among the consequences of these wars, two points need serious :attention

a) A large number of the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saws) and sincere and) religious personalities had lost their lives in these wars and the group devoted to religious values which could present the Islamic ideals, had become weak. For that reason, the common people had lost the sense of deeper values of life and the hereafter. They were .after only the worldly benefits

b) In the bitter Siffin war a large number of the soldiers from Iraq and Kufa had lost their) lives and those who had survived were remembering their loved ones in grief. Later, when their near ones fought the Nahrwan war as the 'Khawarij', remaining rebellious despite the advice of the leader of the faithful, and were eliminated, it had a very bad .effect on the residents of Kufa who became revengeful

,The selfish Iraqi leaders

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taking advantage of the prevailing conditions, disobeyed the orders of Hazrat 'Ali (as) after the Nahrwan war, to go to fight against the rebellious group of Syria, which the Imam (as) had planned. These leaders, pretending excuses, forced the Imam (as) to .postpone the war

The situation in Kufa at the time was such that the soldiers had a mixed feeling of grief and revenge. It was not an ordinary situation, as they had lost many of their relatives. Thus they could not be expected to fight a formidable enemy very soon. The rest of the .people, who included the wealthy group, preferred peace and understanding

In those distressed conditions they had also lost their Imam and caliph and were facing the aggressive rulers of Syria who had been their rivals. However, they were very hopeful that Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as) would find some political solution to the existing hatred .between Syria and Iraq, so that peace and tranquility would prevail in Kufa

In his sermons, Imam Hasan (as) has himself described the pathetic conditions prevailing in Kufa at the time, which we would discuss in subsequent chapters. Apart from these, another consideration for Imam Hasan (as) was that he had to take into confidence those persons from Kufa and other cities who had gathered for a final battle with Muawiya and who had taken a vow with his illustrious father to fight till death. They were pressing the .Imam (as) to march against Muawiya immediately

Imam Al-Mujtaba and Caliphate

A study of the historical record

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shows that the historians have ignored the period between the accession to caliphate by Imam Hasan (as) and the commencement of the war. Although this ambiguity is reflected .in describing the whole life of Imam (as), yet it is more visible for this period

The fact that no major conflicts or clashes took place in the disturbed political and economic conditions of Kufa during the brief caliphate period of Imam Hasan (as) shows a great success of his brief caliphate period and reflects his great qualities of cool political planning and statesman-like policies. As a true caliph, it was the statesmanship of the Imam (as) which kept Kufa in peace under his centralized effective control, despite all its .differences and mistrust

The sound political planning of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was visible from the very day when the people wanted to pay allegiance to him. He had permitted them the allegiance on the specific condition that they would make peace with the one with whom he would do so and would fight one who would fight against him. Due to this stand of the Imam (as), Kufa remained united and peaceful, and he maintained a neutral position between those .wanting to fight and the seekers of peace

Declaring the Holy Book and the Sunnah as the basis of allegiance, he demonstrated a practical proof for being the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) as well as his true caliph. There is no doubt that the Holy Prophet (saws) commanded the people to follow

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the Holy Book and Sunnah and used to make it clear to them that the solution of all their problems lay in following the same.

It cannot be denied that the Holy Book and the Sunnah contain the commands for war as well as peace and it is for the Imam and the caliph of the Holy Prophet (saws) to decide as to when to fight and when to make peace. The people must follow the Imam in either case.

After assuming the office of caliph, the first step that Imam Hasan (as) took was that he raised the salary of the soldiers by ١٠٠ Dirham each. Before him, the leader of the faithful had done the same at the time of the Camel war, while he did it at the time of becoming the caliph. Subsequently all the caliphs followed him in this respect.(١)

Though the raise in the salary of soldiers has always been considered as strengthening the fighting spirit of the soldiers, particularly at the critical moment of war, yet the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw), by doing so, did not intend to wage war immediately. Rather, he wanted to revive the morale of the Iraqi army which had been adversely affected during the earlier years due to internal conflicts.

He might have taken other steps as well to restore the military strength of the victorious forces, but that is not known to us. However, the fact that he directed his urgent attention at these issues while

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١- Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, ١٩٦٥, vol.١, p.٣۴; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ١٩۶٢, vol. ١۶, p.٣٣; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum; Manshurat al Sharif al Razi, ١۴١۴ A.H. p.٧۵; Jawwad Fadhlullah - 'Sulh ul Imam Hasan', Qum, Dar ul Musaqqaf, al Muslim p.٧٧.

.facing a dangerous enemy reflects his full command over the prevailing conditions

On Imam Hasan's (as) emerging as the true Islamic caliph, whose allegiance was taken by all the governed areas, Muawiya had felt aggrieved. He had strongly reacted against the caliphate of the Imam (as) as it was beyond his imagination that the Muslims, who had always been voicing differences on the issue of caliphate, would collectively accept Imam .Hasan (as) as the caliph, especially in a city like Kufa where he had considerable influence

It was also a bad omen for him as he had become a candidate for caliphate after the death of Hazrat Uthman and was constantly trying to grab the same. The main motive of all the intrigues against Hazrat 'Ali (as), which resulted in his martyrdom, was none other than the caliphate itself. Therefore, he also refused to accept Imam Hasan (as) as the caliph, just like he had done in the case of Hazrat 'Ali (as), and planned rebellion against .him

After the assumption of the caliphate by Imam Hasan (as), Muawiya wrote to Ziyad b. Abih, the Imam (as)'s governor in Persia, to join him, while threatening him if he acted otherwise. A year earlier than the martyrdom of Hazrat 'Ali (as), disorderly conditions had developed in Persia, so his confidants had advised the Imam (as) to appoint Ziad b. Abih .as the governor to control the situation, which he had accepted

When Muawiya's letter reached Ziad, he addressed the masses standing, wherein he said: "I

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am surprised at the son of the liver-eater, the central intriguer, the chief of the rebellious group, that he threatens me while between him and me is the regard of two grandsons of the Holy Prophet (saws) (Imam Hasan (as) and Imam Husayn (as)), with whom are seventy thousand soldiers ready to fight, with open sword. By God, if he tries to attack ."me, he will find me a tough soldier and a strong swordsman

In the speech, Ziad had exaggerated the army strength to frighten Muawiya; he had not put down his arms till Imam Hasan (as)'s peace with Muawiya, and had been loyal to the (Imam (as) all along.(١

Apart from the above plans, Muawiya had sent a large number of spies to Iraq. The learned scholar Baqar Qarshi writes in this regard:"Muawiya invited his close associates, informed them about Imam Hasan (as)'s accession to caliphate and drew their attention to the fact that if they did not manage to control the situation, they would never be able to :establish their kingdom. After long deliberations it was decided to take two key steps

a) "Spies should be sent to those areas that had paid allegiance to Imam Hasan (as),) particularly to Kufa and Basra to assess the social and cultural atmosphere there, to determine their plans and to find out the extent of their love for the 'Ahlul Bayt' (as). Apart .from that, they should be made to feel the terror of Muawiya, his power and strength

b) "Correspondence should be)

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Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut: Dar Ahya al Turas al Arabi, ١٩٨٩, vol. ٢ pp. ٤٢٩, -١ .٤٥٣; Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut: Dare Sadir, vol.٢ p. ٢١٨

started with the dignitaries and tribal leaders; they should be bribed and provided large sums of money so that they may obey Muawiya." (۱)

It cannot be denied that the spies of Muawiya were active in Yemen, Hijaz, Persia and Iraq since the time of the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as). During the period of Imam Hasan (as), the spy network was extended. The historians mention in particular the arrest of two spies, one of whom was arrested in Kufa and the other in Basra. Imam Hasan (as) sentenced them to death, thereby suppressing the spy movement and perfidy through Islamic penal law. Later the Imam (as) wrote the following letter to Muawiya:

"There is no doubt that you have sent many spies towards us, which implies that you are planning war against us. I have no doubt about the same. If Almighty God so wills, you should wait for the same. I have also learnt that you have expressed your rejoicing at the sad incident, which no sane person would do." (۲)

In this letter Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had warned Muawiya against his destructive inclinations. On the one hand, he informed Muawiya that he was aware of his intention to wage a war, while on the other, he stated that he was determined and fully prepared to face him in the battle field. In addition, he castigated him at rejoicing at the martyrdom of Hazrat 'Ali (as).

The brief peaceful period of the caliphate of the Imam (as) lasted for

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۱- Baqar Qarshi, 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf, Matba' al Ilmiah, ۱۹۵۴, vol.۲, p.۱۹.

۲- Ale Yasin - 'Sulhul Hasan', p.۷۶; Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', Beirut, Dar ul Ta'aruf , ۱۹۸۶, vol.۱, p.۵۰۲; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol ۲, p.۲۱; Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam', Persian translation, Ayet Ilahi, Tashay'o dar Masla-e-Tarikh, Tehran, Office of Islamic Cultural Publications, ۱۹۹۳, p. ۱۶۱; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۳; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۳۱; Sheikh Mufid, 'Kitab ul Irshad', Tehran, Intisharat-e-Ilmiah' vol ۲, p.۵; Jawwad Fadhlullah - 'Sulh ul Imam Hasan', p.۷۷.

four to five months. Hafiz Dhahabi writes in the book 'Al'Abar' that Imam Hasan (as) had .marched for war in Rabi II, ۴۱ A.H. accordingly, this period would be six months

So, if the duration of war is taken as one and a half months and the period of the caliphate of the Imam (as) is taken as six months and few days, still a duration of four to five months remains, though according to some other narrations the peaceful period of the .caliphate of the Imam (as) would be more than that

During this period, the religious group which was loyal to his illustrious father started pressing him for war against Muawiya. Ibn. Abbas, his father's cousin and his governor in Basra, wrote a letter to him, which reflects the religious feelings and has historical :significance

To the bondsman of God and the leader of the faithful, from Abdullah b. Abbas, the" bondsman of God. After salutation. The Muslims have handed over the reign to you. They .have objected to your not launching war against Muawiya and not claiming your rights

So, you should finalize the plans for war and start the same early; you should treat your close associates kindly, you should win the hearts of the nobles and dignitaries through giving them important posts and high status. Moreover, you should follow reforms just like the earlier just and fair rulers, so that they be attracted towards you. Know that war is a sort of deception and there is scope

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.for you in it till any Muslims's rights do not suffer

You certainly know that people had left your father and joined Muawiya as your father was maintaining justice and fair play in the distribution of prize money and the Baitul Maal funds, which was not liked by those persons. "You are also aware that you are at war against those persons who were fighting the Holy Prophet (saws) himself till the Islamic .(victory (the conquest of Makkah

These persons outwardly embraced Islam only after all men had embraced it, the symbols of polytheism and idol worship had been removed and the voices praising the Unity of God were heard all around. They would recite the Holy Qur'an, yet make fun of its verses as well they would stand in prayers half-heartedly they would observe the duties .as commanded by Allah, yet in their heart of hearts they disliked these

Later, when they realized that only the apostles of God, good-natured persons and pious ulama were entitled to respect and dignified status, they also pretended to be abstinent and pious. Outwardly, they obtained what their ancestors cherished but their long life proved that they were misled and a trap for the Muslims! "Therefore, O respected Imam, may God's blessings be upon you, you should start the war against them and should not .accept surrender at any cost

Your father Hazrat 'Ali (as) had also not accepted arbitration until it was forced on him. And when that happened, he had agreed to

it on the condition that the arbitrators would follow justice and fair play. But, when they announced their decision based on selfish aims and personal interest, then he reverted to .(his earlier policy (of waging war

Till his martyrdom, he was determined to fight them. May God's blessings be upon him. Therefore, O highly respected Imam! Do not surrender this right of yours which you deserve more than anyone else, even though the undeserving ones may argue with you (against it. With regards and May the blessings of Glorified God be with you." (۱

In this letter, Ibn. Abbas, expressing the feelings of the supporters of the Imam, has emphasized the need for war. He analyses the reasons for the outward set back of his illustrious father and throws considerable light on the Umayyads' true feelings with regard to Islam. There is no doubt that the religious elite who were sincere and who had .proved their loyalty towards his father were pressing the Imam (as) for war

They were aggrieved that the people of Kufa had disappointed his father as they could not arrange the army which could attack the rebellious group and finish them off. To remove that feeling they were pressing the Imam (as) to start the war. The letter of Ibn. Abbas was supportive of the same. But it was premature for the Imam (as) to take such a big step. He had not yet had the chance to reform the areas under his control and to effectively

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Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۴; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al -۱ Maa'rif al Uthmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, pp.۱۴۸-۱۵۰; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ۱۹۶۲, vol. ۱۶, p.۲۳; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar al Ta'aruf lil Matbu'at, ۱۹۷۷, vol. ۳, p.۲۹; Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', Beirut, Dar ul Ta'aruf , ۱۹۸۶, vol.۱, p.۵۰۳; ۶. Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam', Persian translation, Ayet Ilahi, p. ۱۶۳; Razi Aale Yasin

.reorganize his army

Moreover, the majority, which was under the influence of the leaders and self-seekers, was against war and they could leave the Imam (as) at any crucial moment, thus declaring him responsible for all the bloodshed. In the circumstances, it was essential that he should settle the issue peacefully before starting the war, so that, in case of war, they should have no ground to run away from the war and thus betray him.

Historians record that just after receipt of the letter of Ibn. Abbas, the Imam (as) called the letter-writer and dictated the following detailed letter to Muawiya:

From the bondsman of God and the leader of the faithful Hasan, to Muawiya b. Sakhar:" There is no doubt that the Glorified God sent the Holy Prophet (saws) as a divine blessing for the universe. Through him, the right achieved mastery, falsehood was defeated and the Quraish got a high status. Then He commanded the chief of His creation thus:

."For sure this is an occasion of warning, learning a lesson, for you and your nation"

When the Holy Prophet (saws) breathed his last, there was a dispute among the Arabs about his successor. The Ansar (Madenite companions of the Holy Prophet) demanded that 'one should be from us and one from you'. On this, the Quraish replied that 'we are from his family and the clan. So, it is not appropriate that you should disagree with us on the issue of the succession.'

So, the Arabs gave the right to Quraish

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but when we demanded our right on the basis of kinship, i.e. belonging to the family of the Holy Prophet (saws), the Quraish declined and did not do justice to us, which, we thought, .was very strange

Though these persons had some priority in embracing Islam and respect, yet I am very surprised today when a person like you, who has no credible performance for the religious cause, nor has he served it in any significant manner, and who is the son of the worst enemy of the Holy Prophet (saws) from the Quraish clan, has claimed the candidacy !of caliphate. So, Almighty God will hold you accountable

Moreover, I must tell you that after the martyrdom of the leader of the faithful, the" Muslims have given the rein of their affairs to me and I pray the Gracious God that He may mercifully keep me away from taking such a thing in the world, which may cause a .lesser reward for me in the hereafter

O Muawiya! Desist from falsehood and further revolt and pay allegiance to me like the" masses have done, as you are well aware that I am entitled to caliphate much more than you in the eyes of Almighty God, his angels and those having a rational mind. So, you .should fear God and abandoning revolt do not shed the blood of Muslims

But, if you continue the policy of waywardness and rebellion, then I will attack you along with the Muslims and try to finish you

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off till Almighty God may send His command and there is no doubt that He is the One (whose commands are the best." (۱

The learned scholar Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin, analyzing the above historical letter of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), writes: "Imam Hasan (as) advised Muawiya to give up waywardness and rebellion and to join the masses by giving allegiance to the Imam (as). It was the thoughtful political approach of the time which was meant to weaken the enemy and .thereby to weaken his policy of opposition

But the Imam (as) addressed Muawiya with these words after he had advanced solid arguments in his own favour. He invited him, like a leader and guide, towards the right path; like one in authority, threatened him and ultimately gave him a clear ultimatum for war. Thus, he followed the approach of his illustrious father, as if the period of Hazrat 'Ali .(as) was still there; no doubt he was his true successor

If war was inevitable during the caliphate of his father, then its significance during his own period could not be overlooked. His own caliphate was based on such authority and firmness which left no scope for mischief mongers in the religion of God. For that reason he admonished Muawiya in strong words and frightened him with the consequential (punishment in the hereafter." (۲

The scholar Hashim Ma'aruf al-Hasani writes that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) knew very well that Muawiya would never accept the offer of the Imam (as), especially when, after the martyrdom

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Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum; Manshurat al Sharif al Razi; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al -'۱ Hasan bin 'Ali', vol ۲, p.۲۱; Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma al Ithna Ashar', vol.۱, p.۵۰۵; Sheikh Mufid, 'Kitab ul Irshad', Tehran, 'Intisharat-e-Ilmiah' vol ۲, p.۵; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۲۴; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۰; Ibn. .Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۵۱; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۵

.Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۸۲-۸۳ -۲

.of Hazrat 'Ali (as), he was considering himself to be in a relatively more sound position

However, the Imam (as) wanted in this way to make it abundantly clear to the whole Muslim world the extent to which Muawiya and his household were hiding their malice and enmity towards Islam, the Holy Prophet (saw) and the members of his household. (This enmity they had inherited from Muawiya's liver-eating mother and his father. (۱

Imam Hasan (as) handed over this letter to Handab b. Abdullah Azdi and Haris b. Suwaid Tameemi, two of his companions. They took it to Muawiya so that they may formally ask him to submit and to give allegiance to the Imam (as). On receipt of Imam Hasan (as)'s :above letter, Muawiya replied thus

I have fully understood the contents of your letter and when you mention that the Holy" Prophet (saw) was better than all human beings, I have no doubt that he embodied all excellence; after that you have mentioned the difference among Muslims and have particularly given the names of Abu Bakr Siddiq, Umar Farooq, Abu Ubaidah, Amin, Talha, .Zubair and good natured Muhajirs (the refugees in Madina) and Ansars

O Abu Muhammad! I do not like this for you for the reason that, when the dispute among the Ummah arose on the issue of succession after the death of the Holy Prophet (saws), they saw that the Quraish had a special status in the eyes of the Holy Prophet (saws) due ,to their lineage as well

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.Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, p.۵۰۶ -۱

.and thus they were more entitled to it

Then the respectable and religious Muslims among the Quraish and Ansar agreed that the rank should be given to one who may be better in learning and piety and who may have been ahead in embracing Islam. So, they chose Abu Bakr. And if they had considered someone more respectable than Abu Bakr, who had also embraced Islam earlier than him and would have been able to safeguard Islam better than him, then they would not .have ignored him

Your and my situation is similar. If I realized that you are more experienced in ruling over the populace, have greater right over the Ummah, are more capable in political issues .and deceiving the enemy and such other matters, then I would hand over the rule to you

I realize that you are demanding it as your father's successor though he fought a war against me which resulted in the selection of one person by him and one by me so that these two arbitrators may give a decision in the interest of the Ummah which may establish brotherhood among them. We took a vow and agreement from them on the .issue

After that, they unanimously decided to dethrone your father from caliphate. So, how can you demand something as a claim on behalf of your father, when he was deprived of the same? "So, on account of my being more experienced than you and being elder than you, .you should submit to me

After

me, the caliphate will belong to your household. Whatever you want, you can take from the Baitul Maal of Iraq. Further, you can take the tax of any area of Iraq for your personal expenses. So, O the father of Muhammad! Think over carefully about yourself and your religion. My compliments to you." (۱)

The scholar Hashim Ma'aruf al-Hasani expresses his views about the above letter of Muawiya thus:

"The first letter of Muawiya is based on fallacy, deceit and fraud, of which he was a master. On the one hand, he personates himself as one of the respectables who cannot deny the dignified status of the dignitaries even if they are their worst enemies.

While on the other, he tries to find fault with Hazrat 'Ali (as), the leader of the faithful, by writing that the Ummah had to select one who was ahead of others in learning, piety and embracing Islam earlier than others, so they selected Abu Bakr. Muawiya further wrote that 'you and I are like your father and Abu Bakr if I realized that in the interest of the populace you are better than me and that you are an expert and more experienced than me in protecting the rights of the Ummah, politics, collecting taxes and in deceiving the enemy, then I would have positively responded to your invitation.'"

Hashim Ma'aruf writes: " this meant that the qualities which Muawiya had, were not in Imam Hasan (as), just like these qualities were not supposed to be in

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۱- Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۷; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۲; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, pp.۳۱-۳۲; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۲۵; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۸۳-۸۸; Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam', Persian translation, p. ۱۶۴; Hashim Maruf - Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, pp.۵۰۷-۵۰۸; ۱۰. Hashim al Maruf - Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, p.۵۰۹;

his illustrious father when people gave allegiance to Abu Bakr! Therefore, it was expedient from an Islamic point of view that the caliphate should be given to him (Muawiya) just like it was expedient to hand over the caliphate to Abu Bakr after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (saws)."

Hashim Ma'aruf further writes: "This style of deception and fraud he could not apply to the illustrious father of the Imam (as). But it seems now all the favourable conditions had become available to him; the majority of the leaders in Kufa had promised their support to him; further, that through monetary temptation he had tried his best to turn the masses' opinion against the Imam (as)."

The scholar Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin gives a comprehensive reply to these fallacies of Muawiya in his book 'Sulh-ul-Hasan (as)', (the peace of Hasan (as)). He writes:

"The letters of Muawiya contained material the main objective of which was to widen the differences among the Muslims and to incite them for mischief and rioting; he wanted to raise the dead issues and to destroy the unity of Muslims which was the foundation of their religion.

When he failed to present his father and himself as challengers, he took the names of others and started to mention their differences with the members of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) ('Ahlul Bayt'). In these letters, let alone any argument, he could not mention even the false ground of 'the revenge of the blood of Uthman', as

p: ۴۱

historians claim that Imam Hasan (as) had been the supporter of Hazrat Uthman and had tried till the last moment to save him, and if that was true, then what argument did ?Muawiya have

The only argument that he had was: 'that I have been a ruler longer than you and, being elder than you, I have more experience'. If he had any other argument he would have !advanced the same rather than mentioning the differences

It is not understood what the father of Yazeed meant by his experiences. Was he referring to the day when the Syrians had lodged a complaint against him to Hazrat Umar and the caliph had asked him to appear in court along with his messenger, and he was ?trembling like an ordinary slave from fear of the lashes of the caliph

Or, was it the day when he had declined to support Hazrat Uthman and had later confessed that he himself was one of the reasons for Hazrat Uthman's failure and defeat?!! Or, was it the day when, as a rebel, he had fought a war, along with his large army, against the Imam of the time, without confessing his sin or error?!!! Can these experiences of his entitle him to become a caliph? If that is so, then where is the ?justification to caliphate

Moreover, can such a rule, which is based on falsehood, slander and bloodshed, form a basis for a high religious status? As far as the question of age is concerned, we

find no logic in religious philosophy wherein caliphate may be handed over to someone due to his old age, as it is possible that such a person may be more clever in buying the favour of the people through money or in spreading malice, but that does not mean that .(he should be selected as the successor to the Holy Prophet (saw

It is also possible that a person may have more patience and humility, but the leadership cannot be given to him, as the humility which is observed in an Imam may also be noticed .in the leaders of hypocrites

The scholar Ale Yasin concludes that: "these cannot form the basis of caliphate as the views of a caliph are based on the commandments of the Holy Qur'an; his whole reliance (is on the traditions and he considers himself answerable to Almighty God." (۱

Doctor Muhammad Husayn Jafri has also given a very fine analysis of the above letter of Muawiya. He writes: "This letter of Muawiya is very significant in the sense that it presents a clear picture of his political thinking regarding rulership the government which .he had been continuously striving to get

In his view, the interest of the kingdom and those qualities should form the basis of caliphate which had nothing to do with religion or moral values. According to the arguments advanced by Muawiya, the following qualities form the essential conditions for :caliphate

The individual's authority and ability, his political and organizational skill, and his ability to extend

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.Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۸۴-۸۷ . -۱

the boundaries of the state, protect the Muslims and defend them. This way, whatever was ambiguous, has been made clear by Muawiya i.e. separation between politics and religious principles." (۱)

Later, Muawiya sent another letter to Imam Hasan (as) in which he wrote: "There is no doubt that Almighty God treats His bondsmen the way He wishes. No one can change His command or decision and He is going to take account very soon.

So, do not have reliance on the common people; do not think that you will find any weakness in me if you give up the caliphate and give allegiance to me, I will fulfill all my promises and will abide by the agreement with you. Moreover, after me, the caliphate will belong to you as you deserve it most among the people. My compliments to you." (۲)

This letter of Muawiya shows that having lost on arguments, he had resorted to demonstrating his power and wanted to frighten Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) so that he may surrender in his (Muawiya's) favour, which resignation he would have used as the justification and religious ground for his caliphate.

But the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) understood his motives very well. He ignored his threat and gave a very logical reply, saying: "I have received your letter in which you have mentioned many points, but avoiding to use indecent words, I cannot reply to you in the same manner and seek protection of God. You should follow what is right

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۱ - Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam',Persian Translation, Ayet Ilahi, p.۱۶۵.

۲- . Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۸; Hashim Maruf - Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, pp.۵۰۸, ۵۱۱; Jawwad Fadhlullah - 'Sulh ul Imam Hasan', Qum, Darul Musaqqaf al Muslim, p.۸۷; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۸۸; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۳۷.

and know that I am the one on the right path and it will be a sin if I make a wrong statement." (۱)

Although Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) avoided coming down to the level of Muawiya while writing to him, yet he stuck to his stand that he was on the right path and if Muawiya did not want to be counted among the followers of falsehood, then he should pay allegiance to the Imam (as) and give up his opposition. That is why when the messengers of the Imam took his letter to Muawiya, he asked them to go back saying that now the sword (meaning war) will decide between them. Thus, the chances of political settlement of the dispute disappeared for the time being and war was threatened. (۲)

The exchange of letters between Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) and Muawiya makes for interesting reading. Through these letters the revered Imam (as) wanted to make it clear to the Muslims as to who was right and who was wrong in the struggle for caliphate.

In this way he put political pressure on Muawiya through public opinion so that he may give up opposition to the Imam (as) and hostility towards him and pay allegiance, thus joining the learned companions and other Muslims.

With this peaceful negotiated approach, which is today considered much better than war, neither any religious principle was being sacrificed, nor was the Islamic government coming under any criticism. Rather, if war became inevitable, the opponents of the war could

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۱- . Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۸; Hashim Maruf - Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar', vol.۲, pp.۵۰۸, ۵۱۱; Jawwad Fadhlullah - 'Sulh ul Imam Hasan', Qum, Darul Musaqqaf al Muslim, p.۸۷; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۸۸; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۳۷.

۲- Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۸۸.

not find any excuse not to support the Imam (as). This way, the Imam (as) also got an opportunity to attend to reforms in his caliphate for a short time. His next step towards the aggressive policy of Muawiya was now awaited.

War Preparations

point

Many letters had been exchanged between Imam Hasan (as) and Muawiya who thought that through his cunning and threats he would be able to force the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) to resign, but he was very surprised when the Imam (as) did not take any notice of his tactics.

Rather, he in turn put political pressure on Muawiya to give up the rebellious approach and pay allegiance to him. After being defeated politically, Muawiya decided to take up arms and planned for a large scale attack on Iraq. He sent the following letter to his agents in Egypt, Jordan and various areas in Syria:

"Almighty God in His grace gave the chance to one of His bondsmen to assassinate 'Ali b. Abi Talib (as). So, he assassinated him. After him, his followers are suffering from disturbed conditions and division. We have received letters from their respectable personalities wherein they have sought protection from us for themselves and their tribes.

As soon as you receive this letter of mine, you should come to me with your total army and armament. For sure, you have taken revenge of your blood, have got your wishes fulfilled and Almighty God has killed the rebellious and our enemies. My compliments and may

(God's blessings be on you." (۱

On Muawiya's orders, the armed forces started gathering from different areas, and when all, said to have numbered sixty thousand, had assembled, he marched towards Iraq. (۲)

:Doctor Husayn Muhammad Jafri writes that he had two main objectives in this attack

Through the demonstration of armament and his army's strength, he wanted to force (۱) .Imam Hasan (as) to abdicate the caliphate

On the failure of his above plan, he wanted to attack the Iraqi army before it could get (۲) (well prepared for war. (۳

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was regularly receiving messages regarding the planned attack and the people of Kufa had realized that Muawiya was coming with a large army to attack them. Though it had been the family tradition of the Hashmi tribe that they would not be the first to attack, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had a different motive for not trying to fight .Muawiya, which was due to the attitude of the residents of Kufa itself

In the circumstances, the Imam (as) did not want to initiate the war, but now the situation was quite different. Muawiya had given him the ultimatum for war and was marching towards his territory. Therefore, he had to save the Islamic government and the caliphate. The leader of the faithful Hazrat 'Ali (as) had advised him to follow this principle i.e. "Do not start a war, but if someone wages war against you, then face the challenge. This is because the initiator of war is

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Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ۱۹۶۳, -۱ vol. ۱۶, p.۳۷; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar al Ta'aruf, ۱۹۷۷, vol. ۳, p.۳۰; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, ۱۹۶۵, vol.۱, pp.۳۸-۳۹; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Persian translation, Ayet Ilahi, Tehran, Islamic Culture Centre, ۱۹۹۳, p.۱۶۲; Hashim Ma'aruf - 'Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar' Beirut, Darul T'ar uf, ۱۹۸۶, vol. ۲, p.۵۱۱; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat .al Sharif Razi, ۱۹۹۳, p.۹۳

Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', p.۱۶۲; -۲

Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al M'arif al Uthmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۳; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۹; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, ‘Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah’, vol. ۱۶, .p.۲۶

Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Develop ment of Shia Islam', - ۳ .Tashay'o dar Maiser-e-Tarikh p.۱۶۲

a rebel and the punishment for a rebel is death." (۱)

If his father was 'the lion of God', then he was the lion of the lion of God. That is why he urgently ordered all his governors to prepare for war. He ordered Hujr b. Adi, the Companion of the Holy Prophet (saws) to instruct all the governors to get ready for war and for him to prepare the war plan. The people were asked to assemble in the 'Jame' (main congregation) mosque. After they had gathered and the mosque was full, he gave a very remarkable sermon.

He said: "For sure, the Glorified God has made 'jihad' (holy war) obligatory for His bondsmen and has called it an act not liked by them. Afterwards Almighty God, the Most Sacred, directed the faithful to 'be patient and steadfast as Almighty God is with those who are patient.' So, O men! You cannot achieve your desired aim except by being patient about what you do not like. May God be merciful to you; you all should join the army which is gathering at Nakhaila so that we and you should collectively think and plan what we can do next." (۲)

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was well aware that the people of Kufa, as always, would not welcome this decision of his. He was also aware of the intriguers who were constantly spreading false rumors' and were thus fulfilling the aims of the enemy.

So, he further said: "We are that party of

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۱- Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۹۰.

۲- Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar al Ta'aruf, vol. ۳, p.۳۲; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۹; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۳۸; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۱۰۰; Hashim Ma'aruf - 'Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar' vol. ۲, p.۵۱۱; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf, Matba al Ilmiah, ۱۹۵۴, vol.۲, p.۴۴

Almighty God which is always successful. We represent the most prominent personalities of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) and are his pure and chaste 'Ahlul Bayt' (pbuth). We are one of the two most valuable things which the Holy Prophet (saws) left .after him

We are the peers of the Holy Book of God which contains the explanation of everything, and in which falsehood cannot enter any way (from the front or back). So, in the exegesis of the Holy Qur'an, reliance has to be on us, as we have not suffered from doubt or ."conjecture in its exegesis rather we have full faith in its truth

Therefore, (O people!) Submit to me, as submission to us is near the submission to God" :and the Holy Prophet (saws). Almighty God has commanded thus

O you who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the messenger and those vested with authority" (from) among you and then if you quarrel concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the (messenger if you believe in Allah and the last day …" (۴:۵۹

:Almighty God further commands

and if they had referred it (the issue in dispute) to the messenger, and (to) those vested"… in authority amongst them, then they, who could discover the truth, would have known it .(…" (۴:۸۳

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) further said: "I warn you against listening to the Satan as he is your sworn enemy. But if you do so, then you would be considered as his friend to whom he :had said

today no one can overcome you and I am your shelter.' However, when two groups came' face to face, then he ran away, saying that he was disgusted with them and his view was .different from theirs

Thus, you will be the target of the spear and sword of the enemy and would be in the range of their arrows. In such a situation, the faith of one would not help him unless he had entered the fold of religion earlier or had done any virtuous deed according to his ."faith

Soon after Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had finished his speech, awesome stillness prevailed, as if the people had become dumb. Their faces became pale and they were perspiring. The reason for all that was that they had got tired of war and had bitter experience at the .hands of the rebellious Syrian group

Soon after, Adi b. Hatim, a respected Shia leader of the Imam (as) broke the silence. The brave son of Hatim Ta'i, who was the leader of 'Tae' tribe and had a thousand soldiers under his command, shook the conscience of the people. He said: "I am the son of Hatim. God be glorified. How shameful it is, why don't you come forward and put yourself at the (?service of your Imam, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws

Where are those orators of Egypt who talk so fluently, but when the situation of trial comes they run away like a fox? Are you not afraid of the wrath

of God, are you not ashamed of this condition and are you not realizing its harmful "?effects

Turning towards the Imam, Adi b. Hatim said: "May Almighty God keep you as the guide for a long time, protect you from mischief and may grant you success in the act which may have a good beginning and a happy ending. For sure, we listened to you; we will .whole heartedly carry out your command and will support your directions

I am immediately going to join the camp as directed by you and anyone who wants to come with me may do so." Saying this, Adi b. Hatim came out of the mosque and riding his horse, moved towards Nakhaila so that he could join the camp of the Imam (as) there. He .ordered his servant to take his luggage to the camp

After Adi b. Hatim, the well known personalities like Qais b. S'ad b. Abadah, Muqil b. Qais Riyahi and Zaid b. S'as'ah Tamimee delivered strong speeches wherein they encouraged them to fight and admonished them for showing weakness towards war. On this occasion, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) prayed for God's blessings for them in the same manner as sought by the Holy Prophet (saws) for Miqdad and S'ad b. M'az for .their speeches on the occasion of the Badr war

:(History records the following words of gratitude of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as

You have proved to be just; May God's mercy be upon you; I have always observed you" acting

with obedience, love, advice and sincerity. May the Gracious God grant you the best reward for the same."(۱)

With great effort by this sincere and religious group, the residents of Kufa felt ashamed and they became ready for a defensive war against Muawiya. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) appointed Warqa b. Noful as his representative in Kufa and strongly advised him to keep encouraging the people to get ready for war, to collect them and move them towards his camp in Nakhaila.

The same day, soon after attending to other important matters, he went, along with a small army of men from Kufa, to Nakhaila, located at a short distance from the city towards Syria. We are not sure how many men were with Imam Hasan (as) at the time of his departure from Kufa. The recorded versions present a very disappointing situation.

Anyway, the historians have no doubt that the people of Kufa did not welcome the decision of Imam Hasan (as) for war. After great effort and persuasion, a small army moved with the Imam (as). Although we intend to discuss the number and the condition of the army of the Imam (as) in later chapters, yet it may be mentioned that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was facing a shortage of soldiers, though the researchers estimate that at least forty thousand soldiers were present in Kufa at the time.

An Objection and Its Reply

After analysing the above facts, the objection raised by some historians that when the messengers of the esteemed Imam (as) went to Muawiya

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۱- . Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۹; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۳۸-۳۹; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۲; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۱۰۰-۱۰۱; Hashim Ma'aruf - 'Sirat al Aimma Ithna Ashar' vol. ۲, p.۵۱۲; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol.۲, p.۴۵; Jawwad Fadhlullah - 'Sulh al Imam al Hasan (as)', Qum, Darul Musaqqaf al Muslim, p.۸۲; 'Adil al Adib - 'Daur-e-Aimma Ahlul Bayt', Mashhad, Majma al Buhoos al Islamia, ۱۴۰۸ A.H., p.۱۷۷.

with his letter and saw the war preparations in Syria, they advised him to attack Muawiya before he could attack the Imam (as) but he did not give much importance to this advice, .does not hold good

When this was the situation about the defensive war, if he had declared on his own to attack, it is quite likely that they might have opened a front against him. There was no shortage of such intriguers and supporters of Muawiya in Kufa. That is why the Imam (as) had warned the people in his sermon to beware of the intriguers and to ignore the (rumours which he considered as 'the voice of Satan'. (۱

The Second Objection

In the disturbed conditions of Kufa where the Ummayads and the Khawarij were active and the agents of Muawiya and his spies were also busy, why did Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) observe kindness and a policy of tolerance when a ruler uses full force to suppress his (adversaries? (۲

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was very carefully watching the conditions in Kufa, and like an alert and well informed guide he understood the problems of the people better than them. He was not unaware of the activities of the intriguers, but he also realized that the hearts of .the soldiers of his army were for worldly benefit

He had noticed these tendencies from close quarters since the time of Hazrat 'Ali (as). So, ,he tried to solve these problems through kindness and love. If we go back to his sermons

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۱- . Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۲; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۳۷; Razi .Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۹۰-۹۴

۲- Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۹۰-۹۴.

we would realize that he tried to revive their conscience and religious sense of honour. He made them realize the adverse consequences if they would not follow the leader .completely and would listen to rumours

On the other hand, if they would remain completely loyal to the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) and would not shirk in his obedience, they would get associated with the .'party of God' which is always successful and which could never be defeated

Moreover, by indicating his very close relationship with the household of the Holy Prophet (saws), he wanted to make it clear to the people that according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah it was obligatory on the people to submit to him and not to show the slightest .disagreement with his decision either to fight or not to wage a war

At this critical hour, if the Imam (as) had adopted an aggressive policy, his capital would have become the centre of intrigue and rebellion a front would have opened against him in Kufa itself. The danger of the rebellion and intrigue was not less than that from .Muawiya. In fact, Muawiya himself wanted to get him involved in these problems

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) camped at Nakhaila for ten days. During this period, he waited for more men to join his army. His sincere commanders arrayed his army there for battle. During the allegiance time, there was so much activity and the people were showing so much love, affection and spirit for the

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Imam (as) as if they would never abandon him. However, when the time of trial came, the .situation changed completely

So much so, that a majority of the soldiers of the brigade which Hazrat ‘Ali (as) had prepared before his martyrdom for attack on Muawiya, and which was said to consist of forty thousand soldiers, had also left him. All the remaining ones also did not obey the .command of the Imam (as) for war as if they had lost the spirit and enthusiasm for war

It was not for the first time that their attitude of disobedience and indifference to the Imam (as) had been noticed, as they had adopted the same approach earlier towards Hazrat ‘Ali (as) and, as history records, continued the same later. There is an adage: 'the people of Kufa do not honour their word'. Anyway, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) started the '.march from Nakhaila with the small army and went up to the area of 'Dair Abdul Rahman

There some more soldiers, whose number is not known, joined him. The Imam (as) camped there for three days. It is certain that he would not have been unaware of the movement of Muawiya's army and he must have been getting the latest information .about the same

So, he decided to send a vanguard unit of twelve thousand soldiers under the command of Ubaidullah b. Abbas towards the northern borders of Iraq so that it may halt the advancement of the army of Muawiya at the Iraqi border. Before their

departure, he gave a war command to Ubaidullah, his father's cousin, i.e. his uncle, a part .of which has been recorded by the historians

O my uncle! I am giving twelve thousand Egyptian reciters of the Holy Qur'an and brave" Arab warriors under your command. One soldier among them is equal to a battalion. Along with them, you should keep marching along the Euphrates River till you reach Maskin after crossing over Euphrates. Continue to march further till you come face to .face with Muawiya

You should treat these soldiers with humility, listen to them cheerfully, treat them well and do not allow them under any circumstances to keep away from you as these are the .(trusted ones of the leader of the faithful, Hazrat 'Ali (as

If you face Muawiya, hold his advance till I reach you. I am following you soon. You should keep me informed daily. Continue to consult the two i.e. Qais b. S'ad and S'aeed b. Qais and do not take any action without their consent. When you face Muawiya, do not be the first to attack, but if he starts the battle then you should also fight. If something happens to you, then Qais b. S'ad will be in command and if he is also disabled in any way, then S'ad (b. Qais (will be in command)." (۱

With this war command he ordered Ubaidullah b. Abbas to march on. This way, the army of the Imam (as) had become divided into two from 'Dair

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Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۴۰; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۳; Ibn. -۱ Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۴۰; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۱۰۷; Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut, Dar Sadir, vol.۲, p.۲۱۴; Hashim Ma'aruf - 'Sirat al .Aimma Ithna Ashar' vol. ۲, p.۵۱۲

Abdul Rahman' area. The vanguard unit continued to move under the command of '.Ubaidullah and reached 'Falooha' and thence to 'Maskin

The other unit, under the command of the Imam (as) marched from 'Dair Abdul Rahman' to Madain, which was established as the garrison headquarter. Before writing about the subsequent events, it is advisable that the significance of the military and geographic .location of these areas is briefly mentioned for the benefit of the readers

Maskin: Near Samra, it is the city surrounded by fertile, lush green area. During the caliphate of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) it was considered as the northern end of the Iraqi border. From an agricultural point of view, it was the most rich, lush green area. The .armies of the Imam (as) and those of Muawiya had fought in this very area

Madain: Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had decided to make Madain as his garrison headquarter. From a geographic and military point of view, Madain had a very important location. It is located ۳۰ km. from the southern end of Baghdad on the bank of Tigris River. The strategic location of Madain became more important as it was linked with the routes from (Persia, Basra and Kufa. (۱

:Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was facing two main problems at that moment

The advancing army of Muawiya which could enter the Iraqi cities and occupy them, (۱) which would further demoralizes the Imam's army, which was already fearful of the .Syrian army

He was facing a shortage of army personnel to face the (۲)

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Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', p.۱۰۷; Louis M'alof - 'Al Munjid fi al a'allam, Beirut, Dar . -۱ ul Mashriq, ۱۹۷۶

fully armed sixty thousand soldiers of the Syrian army. The Imam (as) had stopped the advance of the army of Muawiya by sending the vanguard unit under the command of '.Ubaidullah b. Abbas, which encamped at the border town 'Maskin

Secondly, he made Madain as his garrison headquarter and was awaiting reinforcements from Kufa, Basra and Persia, the three important areas of his government. He directed Hajar b. Adi to contact his governors in various areas to prepare for war. In addition, he instructed Varqa b. Noful, his representative in Kufa, to induce the people and to .propagate for war on a massive scale

In his vast state of Persia, Ziyad b. Ubaid was his governor, who was still loyal to him and the Imam (as) was hopeful of reinforcement from there. Therefore, the Imam (as) decided to stay at Madain personally for some time and intended to join his vanguard unit at Maskin, which was not more than ۱۲۰ km. away from him, as soon as the army had gained sufficient strength. That is why he had assured Ubaidullah that he would join him .very soon with the rest of the army

Thus, the heir to the leader of the faithful had planned his defensive strategy very intelligently and proved to the world that he was an expert in war tactics, and was in no way less than Muawiya in war planning. However, his was a defensive war strategy. If only the war-command of the Imam (as) is deeply analysed and

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presented to any successful and capable general, he would have to acknowledge that the .Imam (as) was a successful and experienced commander-in-chief

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), in his war command to Ubaidullah, had given particular attention towards his companions or Shi'a. He praised them, appreciated their bravery and steadfastness and thus provided moral support to them, encouraged them, enhanced .their spirit and zeal for war

Then, in four sentences which have deep meaning, he instructed their commander that he should treat them with kindness and humility and should not alienate them. Through these guidelines, he wished to maintain trust between the soldiers and their leadership. In those days, when the army personnel were not given today's extensive military discipline and training, this mutual trust was an important aspect of the army's strength. ((۱

Now, if outwardly he did not succeed in the battle field, it was not his fault but that of the elements which constituted his army. Muslims remember well their defeat in Ohad when they lost the war, which had been won, by disobeying one of the instructions of the Holy .Prophet (saws). A similar condition was prevailing here

A particular group respected the Imam (as) and completely followed him, but they constituted a small number and could not face the Syrian army alone. This was the group about whom the Imam (as) had informed Ubaidullah that one soldier among them was equal to a battalion, and they were the trusted men of the leader of the faithful, Hazrat ,'Ali (as). Therefore

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'.Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan -۱

.the commander should treat them with love, affection and should not alienate them

The Constituents of the Army and Its Quality

point

In the reliable historical records no detail is available through which we could ascertain the composition of various groups that constituted the army of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) and their quality. Occasionally it has been mentioned that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had taken the regiments to fight Muawiya who were the toughest and very firm, or that the Arab leaders had completely submitted themselves to the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) (so that he had full liberty to fight anyone or make peace. (۱

We feel that these accounts are based on exaggeration as reliable historical records show so many facts which contradict these feelings. Basically, the army of Imam Hasan (as) was composed of the Iraqi army and their political, social and uncertain nature is reflected in the sermons of Hazrat ‘Ali (as) as quoted in 'Nahjul Balaghah' wherein he had .indicated their weak and wavering nature

Between the period of Hazrat ‘Ali (as) and the peace of Imam Hasan (as), there is a maximum intervening period of ten months. During this period there was very little scope of any major changes in their nature. In this background we have some words spoken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) as well which serve as a shining guide for us. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) has described the qualities of his army and has comprehensively compared the wars .fought during the time of Hazrat ‘Ali (as) and his own

:He says

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Hakim Naishapuri - 'Al Mustadrak 'Alal Sahihain', Beirut, Darul M'arifa, vol. ۳, p.۱۷۰, ۱۷۴; -۱ Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Sh'aban, vol. ۲, p.۳۹۰; Bukhari - 'Sahih .Bukhari' Beirut, Darul M'arifah, vol. ۲, 'Kitab al Sulh', p.۱۱۴

You were going towards Siffin when you were devoted to religion and the worldly" benefits were insignificant for you, while today you are preferring worldly comforts over .religion

Be warned that you can be divided into two groups of the dead one the martyrs of Siffin over whom you are shedding tears or the dead of Nahrwan whose revenge you are keen to take. The others have run away from war. But those who are crying for the dead, they (seem to be determined to fight." (١

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) has, in a very fine manner, compared the Siffin war and the one fought during his time. In both these wars, on the one side was the rebellious Syrian .group while on the other was the Iraqi army under the command of Islamic caliph

The difference was that earlier the Iraqi army was fighting with such valour and determination that Muawiya had almost lost his senses, while now they had become victims of the enemy's intrigue and were doubtful, rather afraid of the consequences of .the war

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), explaining the different situation said that their success in the Siffin war was due to their religious leaning, sincerity and devotion, while the loss and their defeat in the war during his time was due to the absence of these very qualities. In .other words, now they wanted personal and worldly benefits

Now they were not fighting with the religious zeal and true spirit, but rather for their own ,worldly gain. Later

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Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad', Tehran, Intisharate 'Ilmiah, vol. ٢, p.٧; Baqar Qarshi - -١ 'Hayat al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf, Matba al Ilmiah, vol.٢, pp.۵٢-۵۵; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Razi, pp.۶٨-٧٣, ١٢۶-١٣۶; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq la Ibn. Asakir, Beirut, Dar Ahya al Turas, ١٩٨٧, vol ۴, p.٢٢۵; Ibn. Khaldun, 'Tarikh .Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, ١٩٧١, vol. ٢, p. ١٨٧; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh Al Islam, Beirut, ١٩٨٧, p.٧

the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) referred to the two wars which had a profound effect on their destiny, i.e. the Siffin war, and the Nahrwan war.

So many other wars had also been fought but in these two wars they had suffered very heavy losses which could not be recompensed. They had not been able to overcome the negative effects of these wars, and particularly those of the Nahrwan war, as they were full of rage due to the feeling of enmity and the spirit of revenge.

Therefore, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) considers them belonging to two different groups: one who was shedding tears on the loved ones who lost their life in the long and bloody Siffin war. This group was relatively better and, therefore, was ready to fight a defensive war along with Imam Al-Mujtaba (as). The other group either belonged to the very 'Khawarij' group or had sympathy with it.

Though they were involved in the conspiracy to assassinate Hazrat ‘Ali (as), yet they wanted to take revenge from the worthy son of the leader of faithful Imam ‘Ali (as) as well. About the rest, the Imam (as) said that they had kept away from war.

Sheikh Mufid is the first historian who, taking advantage of the above quoted words of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), has clearly divided his army into different groups. The later historians have also written about this grouping. Briefly, the following five groups constituted the army of the noble Imam.

Shia

A particular class of people, devoted to

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Imam Hasan (as) and his illustrious father, having a special identity based on faith, thought, intellect and mystic knowledge. These people consider caliphate as the right of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) ('Ahlul Bayt') from the very beginning, and .obedience to them as obligatory

There was no doubt about their asceticism, piety, faith, sincerity, honesty and devotion to 'Ahlul Bayt' (as) among these were well known and prominent personalities and the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saws) as well. No doubt, in asceticism, piety and faith, these persons presented an ideal and the Muslims used to seek religious knowledge and .learning from them only

But they were small in numbers as a large number from this group had been martyred in the unending wars during the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as). However, the remaining prominent personalities among them were still performing their duties honourably in the .army of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) to the best of their ability

They tried their best in inducing people to join the army, but it seems they could not change the thinking of the majority of the people of Kufa, and could not win their support. They remained faithful to the members of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) even after the martyrdom of Imam Hasan (as) and some of them joined the revolution brought .about by Imam Husayn (as) and attained martyrdom along with him

The Supporters of Feudalism

The Arab society was based on tribalism. The war was also fought in accordance with the same

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system. The tribal chief would decide whether to fight or not to fight and the other members of the tribe had to follow him. One tribe, along with its chief would form a unit or a battalion. Islam was against this system of blind faith but it required a long time for the people to be educated, to acquire deep knowledge and to attain faith in the light of .Islamic teachings

It cannot be denied that during the time of Hazrat 'Ali (as) itself, many prominent tribal members had changed their loyalties. According to the historian Masudi, a majority of the wealthy persons of Iraq had negotiated with Muawiya, but their survival depended on outwardly supporting Hazrat 'Ali (as) in the war between him and Muawiya, while .remaining neutral

On many occasions, they openly opposed the leader of the faithful, thereby adversely affecting the war. During the time of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) these persons had started to .support Muawiya more openly and their number had also increased

Most of the army of Imam Hasan (as) was composed of such persons who would only accept the order of their tribal or party leader. In such circumstances, there was always a possibility that such leaders could force the majority of the army of Imam Husayn (as) to .leave him at the slightest hint by Muawiya

The Group of Self-Seekers

While discussing the history of Kufa, it was mentioned that many nationalities from different areas, belonging to different families, colours, breeds, religions and tribes had settled in Kufa. Due to

its garrison status, a large number of persons had settled there who wanted to gain worldly benefits through war.

For them military ranks and booty were the main attraction and they were not concerned whether the war was being fought for a just cause or for falsehood. Although, apart from them, the whole army was inclined towards self-seeking and worldly benefits, yet a group of self-seekers existed in the army of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) who had no love for religion or moral values.

Khawarij

Outwardly these people were pious and very respectable but the level of their intellect could be judged from the fact that, God forbid, they had slandered the leader of the faithful, Hazrat ‘Ali (as) as being a polytheist, and had fought the war called 'Nahrwan' against him. Their number after their defeat in Nahrwan war could not be considered as large but their group constituted a great danger for Imam Hasan (as).

Outwardly, they were faithful to the Imam (as), but they were waiting for an opportune moment to attain their base objective. To kill Muawiya was also one of their aims. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had been watching them and was quite alert.

The Doubters

These people did not belong to any particular group or party. They did not have the ability to differentiate between the truth and falsehood and thereby to feel their responsibility to be on the right path. Moreover the extensive propaganda by the Khawarij and the Umayyad group had put them in doubt about the true path

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.followed by the Ahlul Bayt (as) and about the prophethood

In the normal conditions, they were with the army, but in an uncertain situation they could (abandon the Imam (as), as they had an infirm faith.(١

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as)'s army was composed of these groups with varying tendencies. A majority of these people could become a source of danger for the Imam (as). Due to their wavering and depressed attitude, the revered Imam (as) had not decided to attack Muawiya. During his caliphate he was busy in reform in these disturbed conditions, but Muawiya, by starting the imposed war, had not given the opportunity for the same to the .(Imam (as

He had to face Muawiya in war, who would have otherwise entered Iraq as victorious, would have at least imprisoned the Imam (as), and the fate of Muslims would have been at his mercy. The war was not only to protect the Islamic caliphate and rule but the .survival of Iraq as an independent country was also at stake

Therefore, he decided to fight a defensive war taking all the different groups in his army. Criticism has been levied on Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) regarding the composition of the army and the selection of the soldiers as well. But those indulging in criticism ignore the .prevailing atmosphere, the society and the political conditions at the time

So, the objections are wrong. There is no doubt that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was passing through a very trying period of Islamic history and not

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Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad', Tehran; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, .٣ - ١ Manshuraat al Razi; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf, Matba al Ilmiah, Masudi - 'Muravvij az Zaheb', Beirut, Darul Fikr, ١٩٨٩, vol.٢, p.۴٣٠, Ibn. Sabbagh - 'al Fusul al .Muhimmah', Najaf, Maktab Darul Kutub, p.١۴٣

much reliance could be put on the army. However, like a capable general, who had proved his capabilities in war during the period of his illustrious father, he took the decision to .fight Muawiya with whatever army he had

He formed a vanguard brigade of twelve thousand soldiers to stop Muawiya's advance. It was composed of very capable persons who included those devoted to him as well as the 'Shurta al Khamis' (the Thursday Soldiers' group) who had defeated Muawiya in the Siffin war. He had very carefully selected the leadership of the vanguard brigade and was with them, with a limited number of soldiers, till the march to Madain. There he stayed back, .waiting for reinforcements from Kufa, Basra and Persia

The success of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) depended on the performance of the vanguard brigade. It cannot be denied that in the vanguard brigade also there were paid agents of the enemy, but if its leadership had acted very tactfully according to his commands, it had the force and capability to inflict heavy physical and material loss to the Syrian army, thus .blocking the advance by Muawiya, which would have forced him to change his policy

Later, with reinforcements, the Imam (as) would reach Maskin and take control of the army himself, and the chances of his success would have been enhanced. Thus, at least Muawiya could have been confined to Syria. In such a situation, even enemies would have .become friends

But if the leadership of the vanguard brigade could

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not utilize the select army to the best of its ability and face crisis, then the enemy could penetrate and consequently the whole brigade would lose.

Due to its defeat, the whole plan would be upset, the agents of Muawiya and the spies would get the chance that they were awaiting, and the majority of the army would lose heart and leave the Imam (as) or cause a crisis for the central leadership. In such a situation, the malicious enemy like the Khawarij could get a chance to play some dirty trick.

The Strength of the Army

point

History has recorded the evidence for a very long time that victory or defeat of an army does not depend on the number of its soldiers. When the soldiers are brave and determined to even sacrifice their lives for a great cause, then even small battalions can defeat a mighty army. The Holy Qur'an has clearly indicated this truth in the words of the sincere and devoted soldiers of Hazrat Talut:

... "How often, by Allah's permission, has a small army vanquished a mighty host. ..." (۲:۲۴۹).

The reason for the same is that there are so many factors which determine the success of an army, and its strength is one of these. Therefore, it is not possible to deny the importance of the strength of an army. However, it does not mean that success is sure just because the army is large.

As far as the question of the strength of the army of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) is concerned,

some historians have recorded that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had marched from Kufa with an army of forty thousand to meet the sixty thousand strong army of Muawiya. Some accounts have even mentioned the strength of the army of the Imam (as) as seventy or .ninety thousand

It is, therefore, necessary that a realistic and critical analysis of the historical facts be undertaken to determine the truth or otherwise of the claim. Is it possible that such a large army existed in Kufa? Moreover, did Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) prefer peace over war ?despite having such a large army

No doubt has been expressed about the strength of Muawiya's army. The historians agree that during the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as) he had come to attack Iraq with a large army of sixty thousand soldiers. But there is a big difference of opinion and doubt .about the strength of the army of Imam Hasan (as) in historical records

A number of historians have kept quiet about the total strength of his army. Moreover, those raising objections against it, contain so many obscure elements. What could be quoted with authenticity was only the strength of the vanguard brigade of the Imam (as) as nearly repetitive historical records show it to be twelve thousand. The history and the :historians mentioning the same are

;Tarikh al-Yaqubi'

(;Tarikh al-Khamis' (Dayar Bakri'

(Al Bidiyah wal Nihaya' (Ibn. Kathir'

(Maqatil al Talibin' (Abul Faraj'

Ansab al Ashraf' (Baladhuri'

(Tarikh al-Islam' (Hafiz Dhahabi'

(Tajarib al Ummum' (Abu Maskuya'

'Tarikh-Ibn. Khaldun'

'Tarikh-Ibn. Asakir'

،Al Asaba fi Tamyiz al Sahaba' ،Ibn. Hajar 'Asqalani'

Tarikh'

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.(al-Tabari (narration by Musa b. Abdel Rahman Masrooqi

Only Zuhri's version in 'Tarikh al-Tabari' presents a different picture of the vanguard battalion, in which the following words need serious attention:"After deceiving Ubaidullah and (Imam) Hasan (as), Muawiya got busy in employing a ruse against a person who was more important in his view, having forty thousand soldiers under his command." (۱)

If this version of Zuhri is accepted, then the total strength of the vanguard battalion comes to about fifty thousand, as earlier than Qais bin S'ad, Ubaidullah had escaped with eight thousand soldiers under his command. He is alone in mentioning this figure of the vanguard brigade, yet it is doubtful whether it had that much strength.

So, his account cannot be trusted. Not only in this case, but all his accounts relating to Ahlul Bayt (as) as well are considered doubtful by the researchers, the reason being that he used to write only what could meet with approval in the Umayyad court. We intend to throw more light about his accounts in subsequent chapters.

The well known account of the strength of the forces of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) is that these numbered forty thousand. Other accounts have also been recorded but researchers consider the number of more than forty thousand as an exaggeration. The following historical records support the well known version:

Al-Kamil Fi-al-Tarikh

When the leader of the faithful, Hazrat 'Ali (as), received certain information about" Syrian intentions, forty thousand soldiers in his army had vowed to fight under his command till death.

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۱- Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut, Darul Kutub al Ilmiah, ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۸.

He was martyred while preparing to march on. When Almighty Allah takes a decision to act, no one can evade it. When after his death, the people had taken the allegiance to Imam Hasan (as), he learnt about Muawiya's planned attack and advanced with the army .("that had taken the vow with Hazrat 'Ali (as

Al-Futuh Ibn Atham

Muawiya marched towards Iraq with an army of sixty thousand soldiers. Hasan b. 'Ali" (as) sent letters to his governors instructing them to take defensive measures. General mobilization was ordered. Imam Hasan (as) advanced with a little less than forty thousand soldiers, appointing Mughira b. Noful as his representative in Kufa. He continued till the area called 'Dair Abdel Rahman'. Then he called Qais b. S'ad and giving him one thousand soldiers from his own army, set up the vanguard battalion with which Qais ."moved towards Syria

Tarikh al Khamis

Abu 'Umru says that when Hazrat 'Ali b. Abi Talib (as) was martyred, forty thousand" persons took allegiance to Imam Hasan (as). Earlier, all these persons had vowed to fight till death along with his father, Hazrat 'Ali (as). They liked Imam Hasan (as) more than his ."father and obeyed him more

(The same narration has been recorded in 'Dhakair-al-'Uqba' by Muhib al Tabari. (۱

In this regard, nearly all historical records contain the same account, i.e. that before his martyrdom, Hazrat 'Ali (as) had organized an army of forty thousand soldiers for a decisive attack on Muawiya. After his martyrdom, people paid allegiance to Imam Hasan (as). These accounts maintain

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Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh, Beirut: Dar Ahya al Turas, al Arabi, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲, p.۴۴۵; -۱ Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', p.۳۸۹; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Uthmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۴; Muhib al Tabari - 'Dhakair al 'Uqba', Cairo, Maktaba .al Qudsi, ۱۳۵۶ A.H., p.۱۳۹

that as the people loved Imam Hasan (as) more than his illustrious father Hazrat 'Ali (as), and obeyed him more, therefore, the number of men in his army was also forty thousand. !However, they are cautious in this expression

Objections

point

The number of forty thousand soldiers in Kufa has a historical significance, as during (١) that period the maximum number of soldiers has been mentioned as forty thousand. However, if it is true that forty thousand soldiers had vowed to fight till death under the command of Hazrat 'Ali (as), and after his martyrdom had paid allegiance to his heir and .(elder son Imam Hasan (as

Yet it cannot be assumed that all those persons had participated in the war along with Imam Hasan (as). At a critical time in the his story of Kufa when there was a new crisis every hour and every home was in mourning, how can it be said that all those who had paid allegiance had participated in the war when there is a time lag of five to six months !between the allegiance and the start of war

After the declaration of war, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) gave a sermon in the central (٢) mosque of Kufa. Historians write that the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) was watchful about the defeatist mentality of the people and their will to retreat. After the sermon, no one supported him till Adi b. Hatim, the leader of Tai tribe condemned the .people for not rising to support the war

From subsequent

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events like the 'movement of Hujr b. Adi' and the revolution of Imam Husayn (as), it becomes clear that the people were not at all willing for war in those conditions. Though they respected and loved Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) due to his eminent personality and being a close member of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws), but to love is one thing and to sacrifice all at the Imam's command is quite another. Therefore, in the circumstances, .it is not possible for forty thousand soldiers to assemble for war

History should clearly indicate as to what was the strength of the army of Imam Hasan (۳) (as) at the time of departure from Kufa, what was the condition from 'Nakhaila' till the area of 'Dair Abdel Rahman' and what extra reinforcements reached the Imam at Madain. Not only is it that no clear details are available, but rather the reports are .contradictory

For that reason, so many historians have avoided to mention the correct figure. Ibn. Abi al Hadid writes that the Imam (as) marched with a large army from Kufa. The question arises: how large? An army of twenty to twenty five thousand may also be considered as (very large! (۱)

If Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had an army of forty thousand, he would not limit the number (۴) of soldiers of the vanguard battalion to only twelve thousand, to fight Muawiya. For sure, he would have increased the number of soldiers in the vanguard unit. We feel that these

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Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ۱۹۶۲, - ۱ .vol. ۱۶, p.۳۹

doubts and objections are enough to show that the statement of forty thousand soldiers .is weak

Among the reliable historical versions, only Ibn. Atham has clearly mentioned that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had marched with an army less than forty thousand strong. Although his book 'Al Futuh' is one of the oldest reference books in this context, yet his statement in .this respect is not acceptable

In the same version, he writes that the vanguard unit of the Imam (as) had one thousand soldiers. We are of the view that no historian or researcher would agree with his above .version

The objection by Musayyab b. Najih Fazari

Musayyab b. Najih (or Najaih) rose and said: "May my life be sacrificed for you. I wonder how you gave allegiance to Muawiya when you had forty thousand soldiers under your (command?" (۱

From the above objection, it has been concluded that forty thousand soldiers were fighting along with the Imam (as). But it is not certain that the same conclusion may be drawn from the above statement, as it is quite possible that Musayyab, due to his religious zeal and spirit, might have been trying to remind the Imam (as) how he had given allegiance when forty thousand soldiers in Kufa were accepting him as the real .caliph and had paid allegiance to him

From the versions relating to the observation of Musayyab b. Najih, it seems that he was stressing on the Imam (as) the desirability of restarting the war and was thinking that perhaps all the people could be

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Ibn. Abi al Hadid, ‘Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah’, vol. ۱۶, p.۱۵; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, -۱ p.۱۶۴; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۴۴

!readied again for war

Ibne Qutaiba's narration

Ibn. Qutaiba Dinawari records that Sulaiman b. Sarad, who was a leader of Kufa and was not present in Kufa at the time, raising an objection against Imam Hasan (as), said: "I am very much surprised how you agreed to Muawiya's allegiance when you had one hundred thousand paid soldiers under your control." (١)

The learned scholar Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin, analysing the above observation by Ibn. Qutaiba, writes that the above account has been mentioned in 'Tanziatul Anbia', 'Manaqib Ibn. Shahr Ashub' and 'Bihar al-Anwar' in which the said number has been mentioned as forty thousand instead of one hundred thousand. Ibn. Qutaiba is alone in mentioning the figure of one hundred thousand just like he mentioned the word 'allegiance' instead of 'peace', which no one else had used. (٢)

The speech by Ziyad Ibn Abih

During the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as), Ziyad b. Abih was his governor in Persia. When Muawiya wrote threatening letters to him, he made the following speech in reply: "The son of the liver-eater, the centre of malice, and the leader of opposition groups is threatening me through letters when there is the respect of two grandsons of the Holy Prophet (saws) between me and him.

There are seventy thousand (or according to one version, ninety thousand) soldiers with him (the Imam (as)), who are fully ready for battle. By God if he makes the mistake of attacking me, he will find me a very tough and brave fighter." (٣)

The learned scholar Sheikh Razi Ale

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١- Ibn. Qutaibah - 'Al Imamah wal Siyasah' Qum, Manshurat al Razi.
٢- Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Shareef Razi, ١٩٩۴ , p.١١٨.
٣- Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi, vol.٢, p.٢١٨; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh, ١٩٨٩, vol. ٢, p.۴۵٣.

Yasin, giving a convincing reply to the false figure quoted in the above two accounts, writes: "The important point to note is that both these leaders were not present in Kufa during the period of the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as), i.e. beginning with the allegiance to .the Imam (as) till the peace

They had departed from Kufa two years earlier. Therefore, their statements lose much value due to the fact that they were not present on the spot to study the conditions prevailing in Kufa. It is possible that they may have guessed the figure of the army on the .basis of earlier conditions prevailing in Kufa

Any way, the statements by the two are more emotional than based on reality. Ziyad b." Abih (Ubaid) was trying to frighten Muawiya by exaggerating the number of soldiers in the .(army while Sulaiman b. Sarad was unhappy about the peace by Imam Hasan (as

We are also aware that Sulaiman b. Sarad had very close association with Musayyab b." Najih. Therefore, it is not possible that the two had such widely varying views about matters relating to the Ahlul Bayt (as), i.e. one mentions the figure of forty thousand while .the other says it was one hundred thousand

The main reason for their different assessment is that one of them relied on Ibn. Qutaiba who had recorded so many accounts which could not be validated on the basis of .research and critical analysis

Almighty God willed that these two leaders may get a practical"

p: ۷۶

answer to their objection to the Imam (as) and the negative view about the peace he made. In the movement of taking revenge for the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (as), in ۶۵ A.H., eighteen thousand residents of Kufa had paid allegiance to them, but at the critical .time of the actual fight only three thousand one hundred persons were left with them

After facing the defeatist tendency of the people by themselves, they might have truly realized the difficult situation that the Ahlul Bayt (as) had faced. While leading the ('Tawwabun' struggle, they were both martyred." (۱

After analysing all the versions and their weaknesses, regarding the strength of the army of Imam Hasan (as), we can conclude that history does not record the actual number of soldiers in the army of the Imam (as). Moreover, whatever historical records have been .quoted, are unreliable

Therefore, we cannot clearly state what the strength of the army might have been. However, through circumstantial evidence, the researchers estimate that it was not more than twenty thousand as the vanguard brigade had twelve thousand soldiers, while four thousand soldiers were with the Imam (as) himself, and another four thousand joined him (in Madain. Thus, the total strength of the army comes to twenty thousand. (۲

Selection of the Leader

point

The researchers complain that a factual, analytical and critical study of the struggle between Imam Hasan (as) and Muawiya, as presented by history, has not yet been ,undertaken. Thus, a chapter on the early Islamic period remains dark

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Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۱۱۹-۱۲۰ -۱

.Ibid -۲

vague and unclear. A similar view has been expressed by the well known German :orientalist J. Wellhausen. While analysing the period of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), he writes

Events are recorded with confusion and fragmentation and that it is, therefore, difficult to place certain details of the episode in precise chronological order." (١) ١

The researchers are justified in their comment, as those trying to analyse the events during the period of Imam Hasan (as) come across many such different, confused statements about the events and contradictory narrations. Similar variation is also observed about the leadership of the vanguard brigade. From the occurrences after .reaching Maskin, it seems that the difference is quite significant

Rebuttal of another Misunderstanding

Some historians have written that the command of the vanguard brigade that Imam Hasan (as) had ordered to go to Maskin in the northern Iraqi area to check the advance by Muawiya, was given to Qais b. S'ad b. Abadah Ansari. The following historians have recorded it as such: (٢) ٢

',Ibn. Atham - 'Al-Futuh

,Hafiz Dhahabi - 'Tarikh al-Islam-o-al-'abar

',Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis

'Ibn. Hajar 'Asqalani - 'Al Isabah fi Tamyiz al Sahaba

'Ibn. Khaldun - 'Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun

'Abu 'Ali Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum

Two versions have been given in 'Tarikh al-Tabari'. According to Zuhri's narration, Ubaidullah b. Abbas, the cousin of Imam Al-Mujtaba's father (i.e. his uncle) was in command of the vanguard brigade, while according to Musa b. Abdel Rahman's narration, the command was given to Qais b. S'ad.(٣) ٣

The historian Ibn. 'Asakir too, in his well known book 'Tarikhe

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S.H.M. Jafari – 'The Origin and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian – ۱
.Publications, p.۱۳۷

Ibn. Atham – 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Usmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۴; Dayar . –۲ Bakri – 'Tarikh al Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Sh'aban, vol. ۴ pp. ۳۸۹–۳۹۰; Ibn. Khaldun, ‘Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun’, Beirut, Muassasah A'la mi, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, p. ۱۸۶; Abu ‘Ali Maskuya – 'Tajarib al Ummum', Tehran, Dar Sarosh, ۱۹۸۷, vol. ۱, p. ۳۸۶; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh Al Islam, Beirut, Darul Kutub al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, 'Ahde Khulfae Rashidin', p.۶; Ibn. Hajar Asqalani – .'Al Asabah fi Tamyiz al Sahaba; Egypt, Matb'a Mustafa Muhammad, ۱۹۳۹, vol. ۱ p.۳۲۹

.Tabari – 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۴–۶۵ –۳

Madinate Damishq' mentions two different versions. According to him, only Abul Safar has mentioned the name of Qais b. S'ad as the commander of the vanguard unit, while others (have mentioned Ubaidullah b. Abbas as the commander.(۱

On the other hand, we also come across the historical records wherein it has been mentioned that though the leadership was given by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) to Ubaidullah b. Abbas, Qais b. S'ad was appointed as his assistant and adviser. The following historians :support this version

'Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi

'Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihayah

'Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf

'Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin

'Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad

'Ibn. Abi al Hadid - 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah

'Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fit Tarikh

From the historical evidence available, it is not difficult to decide that initially the commander of the vanguard unit was Ubaidullah b. Abbas, but later the command was :officially assigned to Qais b. S'ad. We will quote only two sources here

The war command of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) in which he ordered Ubaidullah to take the (۱) command of the vanguard brigade and appointed Qais b. S'ad and S'eed b. Qais as his .advisers

The letter from Ubaidullah b. Abbas or Qais b. S'ad to Imam Hasan (as), after taking (۲) over the command of the vanguard brigade, in which they have mentioned the crisis (faced by the leadership. (۲

From a historical point of view, the authenticity of the two documents and their accuracy is proved. However, the misunderstanding by some that Qais was

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۱- Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq al Kabir' Beir ut, Darul Ahya al Turas, ۱۹۸۷, vol ۴, p.۲۲۳.

۲- Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, pp.۲۲; Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad'vol. ۲ p. ۹; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۷.

the commander of the vanguard brigade was due to the main role played by Qais b. S'ad. For sure, during the caliphate of Hazrat 'Ali (as) he had been the commander-in-chief of a very important brigade 'the Shurta al Khamis' (the Thursday Soldiers).

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had also not appointed Ubaidullah b. Abbas as the sole commander, but he had appointed Qais as his assistant and next in command. Due to later events, when Qais got the command, he was at the centre of all the events, which caused the historians to consider him as the commander of the vanguard brigade.

Some historians have raised objection that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) appointed Ubaidullah as the commander. In this respect, the following extract from 'Tarikh al-Tabari' etc., needs attention:

"When Hazrat 'Ali (as) was martyred and the Iraqi people paid allegiance to Imam Hasan (as) as the caliph, it became evident that Imam Hasan (as) was not in favour of war. But he wanted to make a bargain for himself with Muawiya before making any agreement. Imam Hasan (as) knew that Qais b. S'ad would not agree with this view of the Imam (as). Therefore, he dismissed him and appointed Ubaidullah b. Abbas as the commander of the army." (۱)

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above historical extract: ۱) Imam Hasan (as) did not want a war (۲) Before taking any decision about the consequences of peace, he wanted to extract something from Muawiya.

As far as the stand taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba

۱- Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', vol ۳, p.۱۶۵; Abu 'Ali Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum', vol.۱, p. ۳۸۵.

as) about the war is concerned, we have already explained it in earlier chapters and no) .doubt remains about the same. Yet, we would like to make a brief comment

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), just like his father, considered it his prime duty to fight the rebellious group and he considered himself to be the rightful claimant and heir to the caliphate, but due to a number of problems, which have earlier been mentioned, he did not want to start the war himself in the given disturbed conditions. But that did not mean !that he did not want to fight even a defensive war

That is why, as soon as he got the information about Muawiya's advance, he made the declaration of war and started large scale propagation for the same. His sermon in the Kufa mosque about readiness for war and his taking the limited army to the camp in 'Nakhaila' outside the city, the same day, is a clear proof that he was taking appropriate .steps for war

Reliable historical records show that it was not Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) but the people who were reluctant to fight and disappointed their Imam. If Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was really inclined towards peace from the beginning, he would neither have threatened Muawiya with the consequences nor would have stuck to his firm stand till the end. Rather, he could have easily replied to Muawiya's offer of peace at some appropriate moment and would !have presented him with his own conditions

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(۱)

Moreover, the above extract was from Zuhri's narration and it reflected his own ideas. Researchers complain that he was partial. We will discuss this aspect in detail in subsequent chapters. Similarly, we will reply to the second conclusion referred to above, '.while discussing the 'peace treaty

Some historians, prominent among them being Ibn. Kathir, have written that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was against the war but the views of the supporters of war and the Iraqi people prevailed over his own view they gathered a large number of people after which (the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) had to decide in favour of war. (۲

There is no doubt that the religious devotees and the supporters of war had tried to pressurize the Imam (as) right from the beginning for war and had wanted the allegiance to him to be paid on the condition that he would consider the war against the rebels as the main goal of his caliphate. But the true Islamic caliph had turned it down and allowed .them to pay allegiance only on following the Holy Book and the Sunnah

The historians have no doubt that ultimately the extremist group as well had agreed to the Imam (as)'s firm and rightful stand and gave allegiance on that basis. As they could not prevail over the Imam (as) at that critical moment, it was impossible for them to .prevail over the Imam (as) after he had duly taken over as the caliph

The reliable historical records show that

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.References have been quoted in the earlier chapters -۱

Ibn. Kathir, 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', vol.۸, p.۱۴; H.A.R.Gibb and Kramers, Shorter - ۲ .Encyclopedia of Islam: Leiden, E.J. Brill, ۱۹۷۴, p.۱۳۵

the decision for defensive war was taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as). The religious group had supported him in this regard which was appreciated by the Imam (as) and he had prayed to the Gracious God to bestow His blessings on them. This shows that on this issue .there was no difference of opinion between him and the religious group

The basic question that remains, and the answer to which would put an end to all objections and misunderstandings, is: on what considerations did Imam Hasan (as) appoint Ubaidullah as the commander of the vanguard brigade when persons like Qais b. S'ad b. Abadah Ansari were present in the army, whose military experience, sincerity ?towards the Ahlul Bayt (as), and honesty had already been tried

The learned scholar Razi Ale Yasin (RA), through a comprehensive analysis, gives four :answers to this question

Scholar Raazi Aale Yasin's analysis about the leader's selection

First answer

The scholar Razi Ale Yasin writes that when Imam Hasan (as) wanted to select Ubaidullah for the leadership, he had bound him down to consult Qais b. S'ad and S'eed b. Qais. This is clearly stated in his war command or the agreement. This way he did not allow the leadership to be confined to one person, which would not be prudent, but appointed a .supreme committee of three persons who were the most capable persons in the army

If he had given preference to Qais b. S'ad over the other two, or over other companions, and had confined the leadership to one person, it was likely that other persons like him who

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had similar status, were sincere and had a shining record in the religious war ('jihad') and .otherwise, would feel jealous

Among those were Hazrat Aboo Ayub Ansari, Hujr b. Adi Kandi, Adi b. Hatim Tai and some others. In such a situation, it was the best policy for Imam Hasan (as) to prefer the cousin of his father, who was also the cousin of the Holy Prophet (saws), and to bind him to consult Qais b. S'ad and S'eed b. Qais. In this approach there was no danger of any rivalry .or disagreement

The Second Reply

The scholar Sheikh Razi, giving the second reply, writes that in the circumstances it was necessary for Imam Hasan (as) that the selected leader be from the Hashemi family. The point may be explained thus: after the declaration of war in Kufa, the people had shown reluctance and half-heartedness which was the beginning of a bad omen for Imam .(Hasan (as

So, it was essential for him to adopt such a policy which would provide a good answer to any current or future criticism or objection. It was easy for the people to blame Imam Hasan (as) if they would see any weakness in his army or would notice any lack of fighting .spirit in the soldiers

It is also possible that if the vanguard brigade had suffered defeat at the hands of Muawiya, they would have argued that if the commander was from the family of the ,Imam (as) he would have faced the adverse situation in a more determined

p: ۸۴

.cool and calculated manner, and the result would not have been the same

Therefore, taking all these factors into consideration, the selection of the Hashemi leader was an important and sane decision. No one in the army of Imam Hasan (as), neither Qais b. S'ad, nor S'eed b. Qais nor anyone else was more keen and determined to fight .Muawiya, than Ubaidullah, as he was full of anger against Muawiya

In fact he was burning with rage to take revenge from Muawiya, as two innocent children of his had fallen victim to the murder and plunder by the army which Muawiya had sent to Yemen under the command of Basar b. Abi Artat. This incident is one of the darkest in history and is very well known. So it was appropriate that the command of the vanguard brigade should be given to an aggrieved one who would be very determined to fight the .murderer of his children

The major part of the vanguard brigade which Imam Hasan (as) had formed to fight Muawiya, consisted of the remaining soldiers who had been organized by the leader of the faithful Hazrat ‘Ali (as) to fight Muawiya. Hazrat ‘Ali (as) had appointed Qais b. S'ad the .commander of that army and Qais had been its leader all the time

It would be a realistic assessment that such relation between the leader and his soldiers is significant and it is easy for a leader who has extraordinary influence over the soldiers to take independent decisions at any

p: ٨٥

time by distancing the army under his command from the central command of the Imam .((as

This was such a delicate issue which required caution. Though we respect Qais, we cannot deny his personal inclination to take independent decisions. We cannot forget the day when he got the leadership and standing among the soldiers he gave them the choice :to decide between two alternatives

;The peace of Imam (as) which included allegiance to Muawiya (١)

.(To continue the war without the specific order of the Imam (as (٢)

There could be no better strategy than to not give the command to such a personality but to still keep him as a political and military adviser, thus benefiting from his ability and .intelligence. So, in the given conditions, Imam Hasan (as) made the best decision

However, the appointment of Qais b. S'ad as the deputy commander by the Imam (as), does not contradict his political policy, as firstly, he would have to maintain the decisions taken by the earlier command, thus he would not be able to make quick changes to the .war scene

Secondly, it was likely that the Imam (as) would himself reach Maskin by that time and would take full control himself, as he had informed the commander that he intended to reach there very soon. After that, what was the problem in appointing Qais as the deputy (commander?! (١

From Maskin to Madain

point

Ubaidullah b. Abbas was quickly advancing towards Maskin with twelve thousand soldiers in the vanguard brigade. While passing through

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Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Shareef Razi, ١۴١۴ A.H., pp.١٠٨-١١١ -١

a place called "Shami" near Qadisiya, he continued his advance till he reached Maskin after crossing over the Euphrates. There he faced the Syrian army which had already .arrived

The next day the Syrian ruler Muawiya ordered a number of armed units under the command of Basar b. Abi Artat to attack the vanguard brigade of the Imam (as). Ubaidullah and his men fought them off bravely and defeating them before sunset, .forced them to retreat to the Syrian camp

At that moment Muawiya realized that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was very serious about an armed struggle against him. So, by the night fall, he started planning his cunning tactics. Muawiya sent his special envoy Abdel Rahman b. Samrah, b. Habib b. Abde Shams to the :vanguard brigade, with the following message

A number of representatives of Hasan (as) have come to me with his letters in which he" has offered peace to me. I have come towards Iraq with the same intention and I have ordered my soldiers not to engage you. You should also not harm them till the issues are .("settled between me and Hasan (as

Ubaidullah and his colleagues refused to believe the message, considering it to be based (on falsehood and deception, and abusing Abdel Rahman b. Samrah, sent him back. (١

After that Muawiya tried to bribe Qais b. S'ad, the deputy commander. Muawiya sent him one hundred thousand Dirham and suggested that he should either support him or leave the army of Imam (as). Qais returned the

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١- ١. Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut, vol. ٢, p.۴۴۶; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', vol. ٢, p.٣٩٠; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Al A'bar, vol. ١, pp.٣۴-٣۵; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', vol ٣, p. ١۶۶; Ibn. S'd - 'al Tabaqaat al Kubra', vol. ٨,p.٧۶, under publica tion; Dr.Abdus Salaam Tarmanini - 'Ahdaas al Tarikh al Islami', vol.١, p.۴٢٠; Abdul Aziz Salim - 'Tarikh al Daulatal Arabia,vol .٢, p.٣٣٧; Suyuti - 'Tarikh al Khulafa', Qum, p. ١٩١; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', p.١۴٩; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', vol. ٢, p.٣٩٠; The references have been quoted under No. ٢٩; Baqar Qarshi -

'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf; Matba' al Aadab', ١٩٧٣, vol ٢, p.٢۴۵; For further information refer to Baqar Qarshi – 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali, vol. ٢, p.۴٠۵; Ibn. Atham – 'al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.١۵٩; Taha Husayn – 'Islamiyat, al Fitnatul Kubra – 'Ali-o-Nubuwah', p.٩٧٩; ١Baladhuri – 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Darut Ta'aruf lil Mutboo'at, ١٩٧٧, .vol. ٣, p.٣۶

(Muawiya, saying: "Does Muawiya want to deceive me in my religion?"(۱

On being disappointed from Qais, Muawiya sent his special envoy Abdel Rahman b. Samrah to Ubaidullah. He requested special meeting with him and swearing, tried to convince him that Imam Mujta ba (as) had offered peace to Muawiya. Simultaneously, he offered Ubaidullah one hundred thousand Dirham. The historian Abul Faraj Isphahani :quotes the following text of the message that was sent to Ubaidullah

No doubt Hasan (as) has written to me about peace and he is going to hand over the rule" to me very soon. So, if you obey me now, you will be treated like an officer, otherwise you will be treated like an ordinary soldier. If you accept my offer now, you will be given one hundred thousand Dirham, half of which I am sending in haste as cash, while the balance ."will be given to you on reaching Kufa

The historians write that Ubaidullah b. Abbas fell a victim to this conspiracy and deserting the army and leaving the command, he joined Muawiya the same night. ۳ According to Y'qubi and Baladhuri he was not alone in deserting the army but the majority of the vanguard brigade which is said to have numbered eight thousand, also deserted with him. ((۲

Some versions mention that after Ubaidullah's desertion, the majority of the leaders and well known personalities of Iraq, coming under similar influence, had joined the army of Muawiya. It cannot be denied that a majority in

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.Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi, Beirut, Dar Sadir, ۱۹۶۰, vol. ۲, p.۲۱۴ -۱

Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۸; Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', vol.۲, p.۲۱۴; Razi Ale -۲ .Yasin - 'Sulhul Hasan, p.۱۴۷

the vanguard brigade (nearly two thirds) had earlier or later joined the forces of Muawiya. ((۱)

The circumstantial evidence shows that apart from Ubaidullah b. Abbas and Qais b. S'ad, Muawiya had tried to bribe other leaders in the Iraqi army as well. But the main reason of .his success was that all of them, including Ubaidulah, had become frightened

They knew Muawiya very well and their national and religious status and interests would not at all allow them to bow to Muawiya. Muawiya had offered cash only to Ubaidullah while others had been given only verbal promises. Without getting any cash, why did they ?trust the verbal promise

If their attitude is analyzed, lack of leadership and the fear of Muawiya and his army was the main reason for the same. There is no doubt that against a well organized and armed force of sixty thousand, a disorganized force of twelve thousand, all of whose soldiers .could not even be trusted, was no match

Moreover, they were facing not an ordinary person but one like Muawiya. The leader of the faithful Hazrat ‘Ali (as) had warned his Persian governor in the following words to :beware of Muawiya

Undoubtedly sometimes Muawiya attacks a person from the front, sometimes from" back, while on other occasions from right or left. So, you should remain very alert to his (moves." (۲

However, it cannot be denied as well that the soldiers in the vanguard brigade were the best soldiers in the army of Imam Hasan

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Ibn. Abi al Hadid, ‘Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah’, vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, - ۱ .Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Uthmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۷

Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Razi, ۱۹۹۴, p.۱۴۲ -۲

as). These included a large number of the Shi'a of his father and his own who included a) number of the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saws). They included the devotees of "Shurta al Khamis" who had vowed to fight till death and, according to historians, .Muawiya was fearful of them

The tried and experienced Generals like Qais b. S'ad, S'aeed b. Qais, S'as'ah b. Saohan and Adi b. Hatim as well were in the army of the Imam (as) from whom Muawiya was afraid. About these very people Imam Mujta ba (as) had stated that every one of them was equal to an army and that they were from amongst the most trusted ones of the leader of the faithful. In addition, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had more than once advised the .commander to treat them with courtesy and kindness

The other persons, though they were not as firm in faith and bravery, yet if the leadership had trusted them and had, following the instructions of the Imam (as), not allowed them to go astray and would have maintained their trust, then there was no chance for Muawiya to sow seeds of discord among them or for them to fall prey to his cunning .moves

But when they saw the leadership itself getting involved, then they lost hope from the army of the Imam (as) and started to offer faithfulness to Muawiya. They did not fully trust Muawiya but this way they hoped that their lives and those of their tribe

would remain safe. The main person responsible for this "lack of trust" was Ubaidullah b. .Abbas

It was the moral responsibility of the commander to take Qais b. S'ad and S'aeed b. Qais into confidence, to consult them according to the instructions of Imam Hasan (as), and to .solve the problems taking into account their honesty and ability

Though some historians have defended him, writing that he deserted the army after finding out the policy of Imam Hasan (as), history provides no evidence that Ubaidullah verified what Muawiya had said. It is possible that up to the last moment he considered Muawiya's words as false but due to his poor and limited thinking he found himself in the .midst of honour and disgrace

He might have worried that his subordinates were likely to leave him and by accepting the offer of Muawiya, he could protect his future. Otherwise, if he fell into the hands of the commanders of Muawiya, they would disgrace him. With this thought, his faith was .shaken, he got frightened and fell pray to the very first move of conspiracy

Early morning when the soldiers assembled for morning prayers as usual and learnt that their commander along with two thirds of the army had joined the army of Muawiya, they were amazed and at first they not believe it. In accordance with the earlier instructions of .the Imam (as), Qais b. S'ad took over the command of the army

After leading the prayers, he gave a remarkable sermon

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in which he cursed Ubaidullah and called him 'coward' and 'traitor'. This way he succeeded in restoring the morale of the remaining soldiers. His speech had such a profound effect on the soldiers that they thanked God on a coward like Ubaidullah leaving the army and vowed to fight till death under the command of Qais b. S'ad. Their number has been mentioned as four thousand. (١)

This would show that only these persons in the vanguard brigade were the true devotees of the Imam (as). It was their true faith and sincerity that they withstood such a big shock and were thus considered as honest and devoted soldiers of the Imam's (as) vanguard unit.

After the breach of trust by Ubaidullah, Muawiya did not doubt the success of his negative policies. He started a dual campaign of propaganda and rumour in the two parts of the army of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), i.e. in the vanguard unit and in the army at Madain. Ubaidullah was not only the commander of the vanguard brigade and the cousin of the Imam's father, but he was also considered to be very close to Imam Hasan (as).

When a person like him could do what he did, then what complaint can there be about others! So, after him, breach of trust, treachery, betrayal of religion, deserting the army and rebellion became a daily routine. He is directly responsible for all that. He was the first person who, performing the role of 'Mir J'afer', brought down

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١- Ibid.

the Hashemi caliphate and created the atmosphere which enabled the army of the Imam (as) to fall prey to the conspiracy of the enemy. History will never forgive him for such a crime!!

The agents of Muawiya on the one hand spread rumour in the army at Madain that Qais b. S'ad had made peace with Muawiya and had joined him, while on the other hand, in the army at Maskin they said: "Imam Hasan (as) is planning peace with Muawiya." (۱)

Muawiya thought that after Ubaidullah and other officers, the vanguard unit would now be having a defeatist tendency and would not have the guts to fight. So he sent some units under the command of Basar b. Artat to finish off the remaining soldiers. Qais b. S'ad, with four thousand forces, bravely fought out the onslaught by Basar and again forced him to run.

The next day he again attacked with a large army of twenty thousand who were fully armed. This time also, after a bitter fight, he was defeated. Many soldiers had died on both sides in this encounter but Basar had not been successful. During the war, he shouted at the Iraqi army, saying: "Your leader Hasan (as) has made peace. So, why are you bent upon committing suicide?"

The soldiers of the vanguard unit had become used to such rumours. So, they ignored Basar and continued to fight with courage and determination, giving hard blows to the Syrian army. Intervening, Muawiya also tried a number of times to

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۱- Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', vol.۲, pp.۲۱۴-۲۱۵; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol ۲, p.۹۸; Abu Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum', Tehran, Dar Sarosh, ۱۹۸۷, vol. ۱, p.۳۸۶.

stop the fight but was unsuccessful. He sent a number of messages to Qais b. S'ad, frightened, threatened him and once he even called him a Jew, son of Jew. Qais b. S'ad .was a very steadfast person

He ignored the threats of Muawiya and had only one answer to all his offers and :proposals

."By God you will not meet me except facing me on the battle front"

Qais b. S'ad continued the war, thus following the policy of the Imam (as). He also gave detailed replies to the communications from Muawiya. In one reply he wrote: "O Muawiya you and your ancestors are known as the idolaters of Makkah. You embraced Islam Willy nilly. Neither your faith is old nor is your malice new. We are the scions of religion while ."you have gone out of it and are its enemy

Muawiya wanted to send another threatening message to Qais b. S'ad but Umru b. 'As (advised him not to do so, saying that Qais b. S'ad might give a stronger reply.(۱

After the study of reliable historical records there remains no doubt that Muawiya, despite all his cunning and political blackmail, did not succeed in defeating the damaged vanguard unit, which was now under the command of Qais b. S'ad. Qais, through his intelligence and with the support of his devoted, faithful and steadfast soldiers, was .keeping the army of Muawiya engaged

,He had not only kept the fully armed Syrian army involved in war but had, to some extent

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Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۵۶; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, pp.۴۲-۴۳; - ۱ Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, pp.۳۹-۴۰; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut: Dar Ahya ul Turas, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲ p.۴۴۸; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, pp. ۱۶۶-۱۶۸; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۴۳. ۱۰. Ibn. .Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, pp.۱۵۶-۱۵۷ and the previous reference

gained an upper hand over it. However, that does not mean that he had no problems. Though he had successfully countered all the conspiracies of Muawiya, yet the main cause of his worries was the fact that he was not aware of what was happening to the .army of Imam (as) at Madain and its central leadership there

He was worried about the welfare of Imam Hasan (as) and was not aware of the problems that the Imam (as) was facing, while all sorts of rumours had been spread in the army. During these uncertain conditions, a news was received that: "Imam Hasan (as) was attacked with a dagger on his thigh and he is seriously ill while the soldiers, deserting ."him, have run away

One can imagine what effect the news might have had on the companions of the (as) Imam during the crisis situation. Qais b. S'ad was aggrieved on hearing the news. He was a very experienced and mature general and, as always, did not allow his army men to be adversely affected by the news. Planning the attack on the army of Muawiya, he did not .give a chance to his soldiers to think about the news

Consequently, he nullified the enemy's conspiracy. He successfully attacked the army of Muawiya a number of times and inflicted heavy physical and material losses on it. In these attacks some of his soldiers also lost their lives. Before night fall both the armies separated and Muawiya sent the following message

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:to Qais b. S'ad

O man! On what basis are you fighting me and are bent on losing your life? We have" reliably learnt that your supporters have dethroned your Imam (as). He has been attacked on his thigh so severely that he was close to death. In the circumstances, till ."learning the truth you should refrain from attacking us

After this communication from Muawiya, Qais stopped the attacks on the army of (Muawiya and awaited an authentic report from Madain. (١

?What happened in Madain

It has been made clear in the earlier chapters that the success of the army of Imam Hasan (as) and its morale directly depended on the performance of the vanguard brigade. So, when the reserve forces in Madain learnt about the betrayal by Ubai dullah and others, it was a big shock for them, and losing hope for victory in war like some of the officers of the vanguard brigade, they also started thinking in terms of contacting .Muawiya

Therefore, the spies of Muawiya had no difficulty in spreading rumours or in making cunning moves as directed by him.During that time Muawiya sent a three man delegation, consisting of Moghira b. Sh'aba, Abdullah b. Aamir b. Karez, and Abdel Rahman b. Samra, ostensibly to negotiate peace with Imam Hasan (as). Before reaching the camp of the :Imam (as), Abdullah b. Aamir, loudly addressing the Iraqi army, said

O people of Iraq! I am from the vanguard unit of Muawiya. I do not consider war to be" justified. Muawiya has reached Maskin

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with his army. You give my regards to Abu Muhammad (Imam) Hasan (as) and tell him ."that for God sake he should have mercy on his own life as well as those of his men

After the utterance of these words by Abdullah b. Aamir, people lost heart and started disliking war. This shows that they believed that Abdullah b. Aamir had spoken the truth. It is a proof of their stupidity that they believed that Muawiya did not want war! On entering :the camp of Imam Hasan (as), the delegation of Muawiya told him

For the sake of the transitory life of this world and forgiveness, the bloodshed of the" followers of the Holy Prophet (saw) should be avoided by you. We do not deny that Muawiya is stuburn on the issue, but for God sake you should not do so, otherwise so many lives will be lost due to conflict between you two. Muawiya has also expressed his intention to hand over the office to you after his death. Moreover, in return for your ."retiring he will offer you much more

We are sorry to acknowledge that, like other occasions, history does not reflect the stand taken by Imam Hasan (as) on this occasion and it is not clear what the Imam (as) said in reply! Anyway, while coming out of the camp, these persons tried to give a false impression to the army of the Imam (as), which was perhaps the main purpose of their .mission

They said: "For sure, the

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Gracious God has saved the lives of the people through the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) disorder and trouble has been avoided and he has agreed to peace." (۱)

Historians have written that after this, the people did not doubt their statement. People were in the midst of uncertainty when an uproar was heard that: "Qais b. S'ad has been assassinated. So, run" (۲)

After Ubaidullah b. Abbas, if the Iraqis had reassurance from any one, it was Qais the son of S'ad b. Abadah. He was considered a perfect symbol of faith, bravery and steadfastness and an ideal person. The Iraqis knew that after defeating the vanguard brigade, Muawiya would attack Madain. But they felt that it was not easy to defeat a commander like Qais.

Thus they did not face an immediate danger from Muawiya. However, as soon as they heard the rumour of the assassination of Qais, they almost lost all hope. So, giving up everything, they started to run. Very soon, the whole army panicked, confusion and disorder prevailed and the Khawarij got an opportunity for revenge.

Taking advantage of the situation, they attacked the camp of Imam (as). They robbed all that was in the camp of the noble grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) they even pulled the carpet from under his feet and the robe from his shoulder.

Imam Hasan (as), saying "verily there is no power and strength but by Allah", immediately got up, drew his sword and trying to save himself

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۱- Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut, Dare Sadir, ۱۹۶۰, vol.۲, p.۲۱۵; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۴۰; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۴۳; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Uthmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۹; Hakim Naishapuri - 'Al Mustadrak al Sahihain', Beirut, Darul M'arifa, the book Marifatus Sahaba, vol. ۳, p.۱۷۴; Ibn. Kathir, 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al Ma'rif. ۱۹۷۴, vol.۸, pp.۱۷; Bukhari - 'Sahih Bukhari', Beirut, Dar ul M'arifa, vol. ۲, the book on 'Sulh' p.۱۱۴.

۲- Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Shabaan, vol. ۲ p.۳۸۹; Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', vol. ۸, p.۱۴; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe

Damishq'le Ibn. Asakir, Beirut, Darul Ahya al Turas, ۱۹۸۷, vol ۴, p.۲۲۳; Tabari - 'Tarikh al-Tabari' (Al Rusul wal Mulook) vol. ۳, p.۱۶۵; Hafiz Dhahabi - 'Al'abar', Beirut, Darul Kutub al Ilmiah, vol. ۱, p.۳۵; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fit Tarikh', vol.۲, p.۴۴۵; Ibn. Khaldun, 'Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, Muassasah A'la mi, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, p. ۱۸۶; Ibn. 'Asakir - 'Tarikh-e-Madinae Damishq', Tarjumatul Imam al Hasan, al Mahmudi's research, Beirut, Muassasah Mahmudi. ۱۹۸۰, p.۱۷۲; Abu Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum', Tehran, Dar Sarosh, ۱۹۸۷, vol.۱, p.۳۸۶; Ibn. Hajar Asqalani - 'Al Asabah fi Tamyiz al Sahaba; Suyuti, Tarikh al Khulafa, Qum,Intisharat al Raza, ۱۴۱۱ A.H., p. ۱۹۱; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Al Islam, Beirut, Darul Kutub al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, 'Ahde Khulfae Rashidin, p.۶; Ibn. Hajar - 'Al Usaba fe Tamayyaz al Sahaba, .Egypt, Matba Musta fa Muhammad, ۱۹۳۹, vol. ۱, p.۳۲۹

from the unexpected attack, rode on the horse. He called his supporters from "Rabi'a and Hamadan" tribes for help and marched with them towards the governor house of Madain .via "Muzlim Sabat" area

Though these tribes performed the duty of protecting the Imam (as), yet in the prevailing confusion and disorder, it had become very difficult for them to distingu ish betwen friend and foe. While the Imam (as) was passing through Muzlim Sabat, a Khawarij, Jarah b. Sanan Asadi, who was lying in ambush, attacked the Imam (as) with a dagger as soon as .he passed by him

The injury was so severe that the dagger had reached the thigh bone. Imam (as) caught him by his beard, twisted him and threw him on the ground with such force that his neck was broken. Immediately, Abdullah b. Zabian and Abdullah b. Khatal attacked and killed .him

Due to heavy loss of blood, the Imam (as) had become seriously bruised. After that, his devoted Shi'a, taking him under heavy protection, took him to the governor's house at .Madain where S'ad b. Mas'ood Saqafi was his governor

In this respect, the services of Amir Mukhtar (RA) were appreciable. From what has been recorded in history that he talked to his Uncle S'ad b. Mas'ood, saying that the Imam (as) may be handed over to Muawiya, was in fact his wish to find out his uncle's intention and plans about the Imam (as). S'ad b. Mas'ood called the best physicians for his treatment which

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(continued for many days. (۱

Though Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had faced very severe incidents in his noble life, yet this was a unique first and last incident of its type. At least in Islamic history, no incident of this nature had occurred earlier. In reliable historical records there is much difference of opinion about the cause of the incident. We will discuss it in greater detail in subsequent .chapters

The Imam (as) had neither become helpless against the conspiracies and propaganda of Muawiya nor did he abandon the efforts to face him, yet history does not record the details of the same. The fact is that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was passing through a very .difficult and complicated Islamic period

Many factors are likely to have caused the outward defeat of his army, yet the main cause of it was that the Iraqi army was not completely obedient to him. So it had not been able to carry out his commands effectively. The leader of the faithful Hazrat 'Ali (as) had also mentioned about their disobedience and rebellious activities, and had mentioned a (basic principle: "Whoever is not obeyed, has no opinion." (۲

Hazrat 'Ali (as) wanted to make it clear to the army at Kufa that the main cause of their defeat was their disobedience. According to the leader of the faithful, the armies that lack discipline never succeed even if they have a great commander like Hazrat 'Ali b. Abi Talib !himself

In the earlier chapters we have tried to analyse

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Ibid, and Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad', Tehran, Intisharat-e-Ilmiah, vol. ۲ p.۸; Ibn. - ۱ 'Asam - 'Al Futuh, vol. ۴, pp.۱۵۴-۱۵۶; Hakim aishapuri - 'Al Mustadrak', Beirut, Dar ul M'arifa, vol. ۳, p.۱۷۴; Ibn. Khaldun - 'Tarikh-e-Ibn. Khaldun', vol. ۲, p.۱۸۶; Dinawari - 'Al Akhbar al Tiwal', Cairo, Dar Ahya al Kutub, ۱۹۶۰, p.۲۱۷; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf' vol. ۳, pp.۳۵-۳۶; Ibn. Sabbagh al Maliki - 'Al Fusol al Muhimmah', Najaf, Maktaba Darul Kutub, p.۱۴۴; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, ۱۹۶۵, vol. ۱, p.۴۲; Ibn. Abi al Hadid - 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah' vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲; Masudi - ' Murawwij al Zahab', Beirut, Darul Fikr,

.۱۹۸۹, vol. ۳, p

Syed Razi - 'Nahjul Balaghah', Subhi Saleh and Faizul Islam's compilation, sermon No. -۲

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the political and social conditions prevailing at Kufa so that the rebellious and antagonistic attitude of Iraqis could be explained. However, it cannot be denied that it needs a .separate and thorough study

The fact remains that at that particular period the Iraqis were in no position to face the Syrian army. They had lost their senses, enthusiasm, spirit and the zeal to fight. During the internal wars starting with Basrah, they had lost all spirit. In his sermons Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had warned them to beware of rumours and propaganda by Muawiya, but history has provided proof that as soon as any rumour was spread, they would fall prey to .it

In this regard the following words of the Imam (as), as reproduced by the historian Masudi, are very significant: "I warn you from listening to Satan. Verily he is your enemy. If you would listen to him you would be among those of his friends to whom he had said: (“for sure ... (۱

This way you would be in the range of the enemy's swords and arrows and would be badly injured and defeated. In such a situation, the faith of no one would benefit him (unless he had either been faithful earlier or had earned virtue." (۲

In such a situation a question arises whether such an army that would try to assassinate its own leader and may not have the ability to protect its own Imam and commander-in-chief, could be trusted to fight a bloody war with

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.Masudi - 'Muruj ad-Dhahab, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۳, p.۱۰ -۲

?the Syrian army

The crisis beginning with the breach of trust by Ubaidullah had swept the Iraqi army like a flood and had reached the peaceful areas of Syria, but the conspiracies had not yet become exposed. From the time of the murdurous attack on the Imam (as), his shifting to the governor house at Madain, till his recovery, hardly any Iraqi officer was left who had .not made a deal with Muawiya

The prominent Iraqi leaders had either joined the army of Muawiya, or had agreed to support him while still remaining in the army of Imam Hasan (as). They had also advised Muawiya to advance towards Madain and had assured him that if he would march towards Madain, they would either hand over Imam Hasan (as) to him or would themselves assassinate the Imam (as). These intentions of theirs were not unknown to (the Imam (as). (۱

The incident at Madain had a very adverse effect on the vanguard unit which was involved in skirmishes with the Syrian army in a determined manner and was performing its duty appreciably. Against all cunning and trickery of Muawiya, Qais b. S'ad and his fellow soldiers had proved to be a strong wall of defence and had not allowed the army of .Muawiya to advance even an inch

However, as soon as they heard about the sad incident, it became difficult for them to continue the war. It was the respected personality of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) which was the main motivating force

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Ibn. Sabbagh - ‘al Fusul al Muhimmah', p.۱۴۴; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳, p.۳۹; -۱ Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad' , vol. ۲, pp.۹-۱۰; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۷; Tabrasi - 'Al Ihtijaj', Manshurat al N'oman, ۱۹۶۶, vol. ۲, pp.۱۰-۱۲; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al .Hasan bin ‘Ali', vol. ۲, pp.۹۹-۱۱۲

.for the soldiers of the vanguard unit who were determined to sacrifice their all for him

When the very life of the Imam (as) was endangered and he was murderously attacked, then what was left for them to fight for? For that very reason Qais b. S'ad was forced to .stop the war and he got busy in investigating the incident

Meeting with the army officers

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had recuperated. He had thorough knowledge of the changes that had occurred and had complete control over the latest condition of the army. He knew about the secret plans of the officers of his army and their negative intentions. On the other hand, he had received the letter from Qais b. S'ad in which he had complained about .the desertion by the army commanders

Anyhow, he ordered the prominent personalities in his army, officers and leaders to assemble at the governor house at Madain and addressed them, saying: "O men of Iraq! What action remains that you have not taken against me! This is the letter from Qais b. S'ad. He writes that your noble and respected men, by going to Muawiya, are giving .allegiance to him

By God you have not done this today for the first time, but on a day in Siffin also you had forced my father to accept 'arbitration' and when he acceded to your demands, then you got divided among yourselves. Later, he ordered you to start war against Syria afresh, .but you adopted an easygoing attitude till he breathed his last

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Subsequently you paid allegiance to me without any pressure on the condition that you will fight whom I will fight and will make peace with whom I will make peace. That is how I had marched for war with you all. Almighty God is well aware of my intentions and my motive. But after that see what you did to me!!

O people of Iraq! What I have seen and endured from you is enough. Now do not deceive me any more in my religion as I intend handing over the rule to Muawiya." (۱)

"O men of Iraq! even if other issues are ignored for the time being, yet three of your actions are such which are sufficient for you to be set aside: The assassination of my father, the murderous attack on me; robbing my goods and belongings. (۲)

The address of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) to the special group of the army is very significant. If they had even the slighest disagreement with their behaviour as analysed by the Imam (as), they would have protested against the same. It was the limit of patience and humility of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw) that even after witnessing so much disobedience and breach of trust and bearing so much oppression, he addressed them in such a manner.

He made it clear to them that they had been disobeying their caliph or Imam since the period of Hazrat 'Ali (as). So, if now Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) wanted to end the war by

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1- Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol.۳ p.۳۹; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۵۷; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol. ۲, p.۱۲۷; Ibn. Abi al Hadid - 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲.

2- Abu Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum', Tehran, Dar Sarosh, ۱۹۸۷, vol.۱, p.۳۳۸; Hafiz Dhahabi - 'Tarikh al Islam' Khulfa-e-Rashidin period, p.۷; Abdul Qadir Badran 'Tahzeeb-e-Tarikh-e-Damishq al KAbir', vol.۴, p.۲۲۵; Ibn. 'Asakir - 'Tarikh-e-Madina-e-Damishq, tarjuma al Imam al Hasan', p.۱۸۳; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fit-Tarikh' vol. ۲, p.۴۶; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', vol. ۳, p.۱۶۵; Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis' p. ۳۹۰; Masudi - 'Muruj ad Dhahab', vol.۳, p.۹.

handing over the outward rule to Muawiya, it were they who were responsible for the .same

After addressing the army officers and selected personalities, Imam Hasan (as) went and addressed the army personnel at large as well. Before accepting the peace offer, this sermon is very significant and there are so many aspects in it for those who are .interested in a deeper study of the problem

Imam's (as) sermon before peace

:We quote the sermon from authentic historical sources

By God, neither had we any doubt about fighting the Syrians nor did we have any" remorse, because it was we who had fought the Syrians with confidence and humility. But enmity took the place of confidence and uncertainty replaced patience. Earlier, when you were marching towards Siffin, your religion dominated your worldly feelings, but today .the worldly benefits are upper most in your mind, over and above religion

Beware that you have become divided between two types of slain persons - one who were killed in Siffin and whom you are mourning, and the other ones who were killed in Nahrwan, whose revenge you want to take. The others have run away from war. .However, the mourners of those killed intend to fight on

Beware, Muawiya has made us such an offer which is neither respectful nor is it based on justice! So, if you decide to fight till death then we will again attack Muawiya and force him, with the might of the sword, to turn to the right path as commanded by Almighty God. But if

."you choose worldly life, then we will accept his offer and get protection for you

(Hearing this, the cry of 'life, life' was heard from all directions. (١)

So when the Imam (as) saw the low spirits of his companions and found them unwilling to such an extent to fight, he sent Abdullah b. Haris b. Noful b. Haras, the nephew of Muawiya, to him, and accepted the peace offer. Though the above historical sermon of the Imam (as) was most significant as he had also analyzed their moral and political conditions, yet what is much more important is that the sermon had clearly vindicated the .stand taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) about peace and war

History provides contradictory situations about peace and war but if someone wants to study the true ideas of the Imam (as) about peace and war, then he should concentrate on the above sermon. Imam (as) had shown his firm determination to fight on despite the disobedience, differences, treachery, many incidents, including the attack on his camp and the murderous attack on himself, provided the soldiers were willing to fight according .to his command

This means that whatever has been publicized about Imam Hasan (as) himself wanting peace is not correct! The conclusion is that the true Islamic caliph, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw), being the Imam, did not deviate from the basic divine law which directs to fight the rebellious group till they return to the right path as commanded by .Almighty Allah

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١ - - Tarikh-e-Ibn. Khaldun, vol.٢ p.١٨٧; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh Al Islam', p.۶; Ibn. Asakir 'Tarikh Ibn. 'Asakir', al Mahmudi, p.١٧٨-٩; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq', vol ۴, p.٢٢۵; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', vol. ٢, p.۴۴٧; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al .Hasan bin ‘Ali', vol ٢, p.١٠٩

accordance with this very firm Islamic law, his father had fought with Muawiya and the .Imam (as) also followed the same divine law step by step till the end

Thus he was not satisfied with peace with Muawiya and had made it clear to the people that there was neither respect nor justice in it. However, when they wanted to accept it despite this explanation, the Imam (as) could not force them to fight on. So, he took the .bitter pill of the offer of peace by Muawiya

Some Historical Extracts

point

There is no doubt that the writers of various schools of thought, and those having different ideas, have expressed varied opinions about the peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as). Contradictory views and controversies raised by them, which reflect a biased opinion, have made the reality obscure. As a result, the treaty has become historically and .politically vague

Therefore, it is necessary that the old and reliable Islamic record should be presented to the intelligentsia, so that they may refer to it before reaching a true conclusion and any doubt or misgiving may not remain. This way the historians' views about Imam Hasan (as)'s peace treaty would also be clear. We reproduce below some relevant extracts for :consideration

When he (Imam Hasan (as)) reached the area of Sabaat, he noticed a sort of" helplessness and dejection in his army about war. So he stayed there. In a sermon to his army he said: 'O men, in my heart I do not see any evil

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whatsoever from any Mus lim. I will protect your rights just like those of my own. I have .an opinion about you which you should not oppose

It is that the unity and agreement which you do not like is better than the dissension and disagreement which you like, especially when I notice that the majority among you are avoiding to fight and trying to keep away from it. I have made up my mind not to force you to do something which you do not like ...' and when Imam Hasan (as) saw unwillingness and weakness among his forces, he sent a message to Abdullah bin 'Amir (that he was ready for a conditional treaty." (۱

Muawiya, through his spies in the army of (Imam) Hasan, would on the one hand spread" the rumour that Qais bin S'ad had made a peace treaty with Muawiya and was with him (Muawiya), while in the army of Qais bin S'ad he would spread the rumour that Imam Hasan (as) had made peace with Muawiya and that he had given a positive response to .this offer of Muawiya

Apart from this), Muawiya sent Moghira b. Sh'oba, Abdullah b. Aamir b. Kerez and Abdel) Rahman b. Umme Hakam towards the army of (Imam) Hasan (as). They met him (Imam Hasan (as)) in Madain while he was in his tent. While coming out, these persons started announcing that all praise be to Glorified God who has saved the lives of Muslims through the Holy

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Dinawari - 'Al Akhbar al Tiwal', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub ۱۹۶۰, pp ۲۱۶-۲۱۷ -۱

Prophet (saw)'s son the fire of mischief has been extinguished and he has accepted the .offer of peace

On hearing this, there was commotion in the army; no one doubted the truth about what they were saying. Therefore, they plundered the tent of Imam Hasan (as) and robbed all that was in it. Seeing this, Imam Hasan (as) rode on his horse ... When (Imam) Hasan (as) saw that his army had become infirm, his companions had left him and were not willing to fight for him, he made peace with Muawiya." (۱)

Zuhri says that the people of Iraq paid allegiance to Hasan bin 'Ali (as) as the caliph." Hasan (as) started imposing a condition on them that they will remain obedient to him, make peace with one with whom he would make peace and would go to war with one .with whom he would go to war

On such conditions being imposed on them, the Iraqis started doubting about his caliphate. They said that neither he was their caliph nor did he intend to go to war. Not long after, they attacked Hasan (as) with a dagger and severely injured him. Due to this .Hasan (as) started doubting their intentions towards him

He was fearful of them and started correspondence with Muawiya. Zuhri narrates that Hasan (as) did not intend to wage war. However, before reaching any conclusion, he wanted to have the best of terms with Muawiya. When Obaidullah became aware of his intentions, he wrote to

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۱- Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut: Dare Sadir, vol.۲ pp. ۲۱۴-۲۱۵.

.Muawiya and sought protection from him

Having no worries from Obaidullah bin Abbas and Hasan (as), Muawiya got busy in deceiving a person whom he considered to be very important as he (Qais bin S'ad) had (forty thousand soldiers as well under his command." (۱

The public accepted Hasan bin 'Ali (as) as the caliph and paid allegiance to him. He" marched (for war) and continued forward up to Madain. Simultaneously, he sent the .vanguard unit of twelve thousand soldiers towards the enemy

While Hasan (as) was in Madain, someone announced that 'Qais bin S'ad has been killed; so rise and run'. Hearing this, the soldiers started running away and started to plunder the tent of Hasan (as).... When Hasan (as) realized that the soldiers had betrayed him, he sent (his representative to Muawiya to seek peace." (۲

The historian Ibn. Athir quotes the narrations of Tabari. Apart from that, he also refers to the historical sermon of Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as) in which while addressing his army, the Imam (as) had warned them of the dangers of peace and had given them the choice between war against Muawiya and peace. When they had chosen peace, then the Imam (as) decided in its favour. The text of the sermon has been reproduced in an earlier (chapter.(۳

The tribesmen of Iraq, one after another, started to go towards Muawiya till very few" remained in the vanguard unit (of the Imam). Assessing the situation, Qais bin S'ad wrote ,(to Hasan bin 'Ali (as

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.Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, pp. ۱۶۵, ۱۶۷, ۱۶۸ -۱

.Ibid -۲

.Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut: Dar Ahya al Turas, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲ pp. ۴۴۲-۴۴۹ -۳

informing him of the current situation. After reading his letter, Hasan (as) invited the nobles in his army and addressed them thus: 'O men of Iraq! what has your group done to me. This is Qais bin S'ad's letter in which he says that your nobles too have gone towards .Muawiya

Remember this step of yours is undeniable as on the day of war in Siffin you had forced my father to arbitration. Later you gave an unconditional allegiance to me and agreed to follow me. I accepted the same and moved forward (for war). Almighty God knew my intention in this regard. But after that you know what has happened! O men of Iraq! Enough is enough. Do not cheat me any more in my religion as I intend to hand over the (authority (the reign) to Muawiya.'" (۱

Awana bin Hakam narrates that Hasan (as) was in Madain when someone announced"" that Qais bin S'ad had been killed. On hearing this, the soldiers looted the tent of Hasan (as) and went as far as snatching the sheet under his feet. A Kharijite of Bani Asad stabbed him with a dagger and injured him. ... And Hasan (as) wrote to Muawiya about the (peace treaty." (۲

... Abul Faraj narrates"

Hasan (as) camped at Sabaat. At morning time he asked his men to gather together. When they assembled, he climbed on the pulpit and said: 'All praise be to Glorious God. (the words of this sermon are more or less

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.Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Ma'arif al Usmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۷ -۱

Ibn. Asakir - 'Tarikh Madinate Damishq, Tarjuma al Imam al Hasan' Beirut, Muassasah -۲ Mahmudi, ۱۹۸۰, p. ۱۷۳, Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq', Beirut, Darul Ahya al .Turas, ۱۹۸۷, vol ۴, p.۲۲۳

the same as narrated by Dinawari). When the soldiers listened to him, they started to stare at one another and said: "he wants to make peace with Muawiya." So they attacked (the camp of Hasan (as)."(۱)

In 'Hayate Haiwaan (Damiri)' it is recorded that after the death of his (Imam Hasan" (as)'s) father, allegiance to him for caliphate was given. After that he marched towards Madain and camped there. While he was still there, someone shouted: ' Qais bin S'ad has been killed. So run for your life.' Hasan (as) had made Qais the commander of his .vanguard troops. While Hasan (as) was going out of his army, Jarrah bin Asad joined him

Suddenly he attacked him with a dagger on the thigh, intending to martyr him. At that moment Hasan (as) remarked: 'Earlier you had martyred my father and today you are after my blood so that you may show your disinclination towards those who are just and fair and inclination towards the traitors. By God, you will learn the truth about this after some time.' After that he wrote a letter to Muawiya indicating that he may take over the (reigns." (۲)

While Hasan (as) was camping at Madain, it was rumoured in his army that Qais bin S'ad" had been killed. Hearing this, his army took to flight in panic and they dispersed. At the same time they attacked the camps of Muawiya. He (Imam Hasan (as)) was taken to the city of Madain lying in

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Ibn. Abi al Hadid, ‘Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah’, Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ۱۹۶۲, - ۱ .vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲; Abul Faraj, 'Maqatil al Talibin, Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariyah, ۱۹۶۵, vol. ۱, p.۴۱

Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Shabaan, vol. ۲ p.۳۸۹ -۲

bed. He was on the verge of being killed. So, through a letter to Muawiya, he offered to resign. He also addressed the Iraqis. And when he heard the voices of 'life, life' coming (from all directions, he accepted the offer of peace." (۱

There is no doubt that the main reason for the defeat of the Iraqis was their difference" of opinion and disagreements with the ruler. If they had political consciousness they would have been grateful to God for his bounties granted to them in the shape of allegiance to a person among the Companions of the Holy Prophet, who was very learned, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws), a leader of Muslims, humble, visionary .and undoubtedly an ideal planner

In support of his being one of the true Islamic caliph ('Rashidin Caliph') is the tradition of the Holy Prophet (saws) which I have quoted under 'the arguments for prophethood' .from the Holy Prophet's slave Safina

:The Holy Prophet (saws) said

The caliphate will last only ۳۰ years after me. After that it will be monarchy.' Without any' doubt, these ۳۰ years end after the caliphate of Hasan bin 'Ali (as) when he gave up the (caliphate and handed over the rule (monarchy) to Muawiya.(۲

In Rabi-II (۴۱ A.H.) the leader of the faithful Hasan bin 'Ali (as) marched with his army in" pursuit of Muawiya. On the other side, Muawiya entered Iraq with his army. The two (armies met in Maskin in the Abnaar area. Hasan (as

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.Ibn. Khaldun, 'Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, Muassasah A'lami, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, pp. ۱۸۶-۱۸۷ -۱

Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al M'arif. ۱۹۷۴, vol. ۶ p.۲۲۰ and vol.۸, -۲ ,p.۱۶

noticed that there were different opinions about him in his army. In such a situation, there .was not much hope from such an army

Moreover, his army was suffering from extreme indiscipline and disorder. It reached such a level of plunder that it pulled even the sheet under the feet of Hasan (as). One person among the Khawarij attacked him. In the circumstances, he realized that it was better to seek peace and proved the tradition of his grandfather, (the Holy Prophet (saws)), to be (true. So, he wrote to Muawiya and imposed many conditions on him." (۱

Hasan (as) had got busy in the treatment of his wounds. During this period various tribal" leaders had secretly written to Muawiya, assuring him of their acceptance of his leadership. They had advised him to march towards them quickly and had stated that either they will hand over Hasan (as) to him or would kill him (Hasan (as)).All this news had reached Hasan (as) and it was abundantly clear to him that the majority of his followers .had rebellious intentions and were not prepared to support him

Only a selected few, who were the Shia of his father, were left with him. These persons had neither the ability nor the strength to fight the Syrian army. Therefore, he wrote to (Muawiya about peace and understanding." (۲

Abu Makhnaf has narrated that when the allegiance to Hasan Bin 'Ali (as) was given, he" made very extensive efforts to mobilize his forces, to march towards

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Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh al-Islam' 'hde Muawiya, Beirut, Darul Kutub al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, p. ۵-۷; -۱ .Hafiz Dhahabi, al 'abar, Beirut, Darul Kutub al I'lmia, vol.۱, p.۳۴

.Ibn. Sabbagh al Maliki - 'al Fusul al Muhimmah, Najaf, Darul Kutub, p.۱۴۴ -۲

Muawiya and to challenge him. He sent an army of ten thousand for the purpose under the command of Abdullah bin J'afer. Following him, he sent Qais bin S'ad. (۱)

There are no two opinions among the Ulama that Hasan (as) had offered the kingdom to Muawiya till the end of his life only. After the death of Muawiya, the caliphate had to return to him and both had agreed to it. Hasan (as) considered it better than shedding blood for the sake of caliphate although he considered himself more deserving for the said caliphate. (۲)

Though the historical extracts of different writers about the conditions prevailing in Iraq during the reign of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) and the terms of agreement of the 'Peace Treaty of Imam Hasan (as)', given above, are very significant, yet we wish to discuss only two aspects in the following chapters, i.e.

(۱) The stand taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) regarding peace or war.

(۲) The reasons and the factors responsible for the incident at Madain.

The stand taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) regarding peace:

The most important question that arises in the mind about the peace treaty of Imam Hasan (as) is whether Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had any other choice at the time of the appeal to cease fighting and to accept the offer of peace by Muawiya and whether he extended his hand for peace willingly and happily or is it that the cowardice and criminal breach of trust of his army had brought about a situation

p: ۱۱۵

۱- Hakim Naishapuri, 'al Mustadrak al Sahihain', Beirut, Darul Ma'rifa, vol. ۳, p.۱۷۴

۲- Ibn. Abdul Barr 'al-Istiab',Egypt, Maktaba Nahzat Misr, vol. ۱, p.۳۸۶.

.where the peace had been imposed on him and it had become unavoidable

Additionally, would he have totally refused the offer of peace if his army had acted in accordance with his command? Without doubt, history gives a clear answer to the above question. If the extracts given above are studied carefully, it becomes abundantly clear .that Imam Hasan (as) was very serious and determined to wage a war against Muawiya

He ordered the best of his soldiers to march towards Maskin to check the forward movement of the army of Muawiya and set up his own war camp at Madain. He was not afraid of the breach of trust and betrayal of the leaders in his army till a stage was .reached when he was attacked and injured and his tent was plundered

When only a few loyal soldiers remained with him, then only he reluctantly talked about accepting peace. In this respect the historical sermon which he gave at Madain needs to be studied carefully. In the sermon which was delivered after the incident of Madain, when his wounds had healed and he was feeling better, he declared: "beware, Muawiya (has made us an offer wherein there is neither respect nor justice." (۱

These remarkable words, which have been quoted by so many historians, reflect his true feelings about peace. These words clearly indicate that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was not only aware of the dangers and adverse effects of the offer of peace, but he also considered it necessary

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۱- The references have been quoted in the earlier chapter.

.to inform his soldiers accordingly

The grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) gave them the choice that if they wished, they could save their lives through peace but they should not expect any justice or honour from Muawiya. Alternatively, they could have continued the war but they would have to be prepared to sacrifice their lives for the same. When the voices for peace and .agreement rose from all sides, he agreed for peace with so many conditions

At this difficult moment in the history of Kufa, the true follower of the Holy Prophet (saws), and rightful caliph, did not consider it appropriate to sacrifice the interests, choice and the freedom of the people, and to impose his personal opinion on them. This implies that Islam does not usurp the freedom and the right of the people, but a true leader shows the .right path and provides them the atmosphere and opportunity to follow that path

However, if the greater majority abandon the path of righteousness and true guidance, then the Imam keeps aloof from them. In a later chapter we will discuss the point in greater detail. A very important point in the historical extracts discussed earlier, which needs great attention, is that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was not the one who wanted to avoid .war but it was the Iraqi nobles and the tribal leaders who were really against the war

There might have been many reasons for the set back in the war, but history cannot ignore the treacherous

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character of the rich and the aristocrats of Kufa and their betrayal which provided all the means of success for Muawiya. Among so many historical extracts given here, we find a very different view about the issues relating to Imam Hasan (as), adopted only in Zuhri's .narrations quoted in 'Tarikh al-Tabari' etc

Analysis of Zuhris Narration

However, the point is whether Zuhri's narrations are so reliable that, leaving all other authentic sources, only those should be relied upon? It cannot be denied that Zuhri's narrations have been referred in some historical books. Yet, whatever incidents Zuhri has quoted have neither been confirmed from other sources nor do the later historians rely on those. Zuhri is not only biased but has gone beyond all standards of integrity in .mentioning what is not even possible

For example, while discussing the role of Ubaidullah, he tries to hide the treacherous role of Ubaidullah and says that when Ubaidullah learnt the stand taken by Imam Hasan (as), then only he wrote letter to Muawiya and sought refuge from him. On the other hand, all other historical records show that Muawiya had initiated the offer to Ubaidullah to join him. During that time he had neither the time to find out the truth nor had Imam Hasan !(as) written to him about it

Similarly, on other issues Zuhri's narrations are full of errors and create many problems in research and investigation. For that reason the researchers discard his version. The learned scholar Razi Ale Yasin commenting on Zuhri's narrations writes: Zuhri's

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narrations about the events relating to Ahlul Bayt (as) of the Holy Prophet (saw) are the weakest in which the topic is more entwined. The author of 'Darasaat fi al Islam' has (termed him as the court slave of Bani Umayyah." (١

Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri makes the following comments on Zuhri's narrations: "The historian Tabari, while referring to the events (relating to Imam Hasan (as)), has chosen .two different sources i.e. Zuhri and 'Awana

In these versions it is abundantly clear that Zuhri is opposing Imam Hasan (as) and is favouring Muawiya. It is not difficult to understand the reason for the same as Zuhri was associated with the court of Bani Umayyah and was giving shape to these versions under the influence of Muawiya's subordinates. As against him, the versions of 'Awana refer to the particular circumstances in which Imam Hasan (as) agreed to peace and seem to be .relatively more balanced

As against Zuhri, the version of 'Awana is more authentic from a historical point of view as well, and other sources like those of Yaqubi and Dinawari have supported Awana's ."version

Similarly, the reason for attack on Imam Hasan (as), which Zuhri mentions, cannot be accepted by any scholar. Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri levels the following objection on :Zuhri's version

As against other historical sources, Zuhri neither indicates the location nor the time when" Imam Hasan (as) was attacked." After a thorough analysis of all the versions of Zuhri :regarding Imam Hasan (as), Dr. Jafari reaches the following conclusion

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.Razi aale Yasin, 'Sulhul Hasan', Qum, ' Manshurat al Razi, ١٩٩٥, p.١٢٢ -١

Zuhri's versions, instead of answering the questions about (Imam) 'Hasan's Peace" Treaty', raise more questions. It is natural that living in the Umvi atmosphere prevailing in Damascus at the time, he had to choose the narration which would be more popular and acceptable in that situation. However, the events that formed the basis of Imam Hasan (as)'s peace treaty are not so simple as stated by Zuhri. (۱)

After what has been stated above, it is clear that if Zuhri presents a different version of the peace of Imam Hasan (as), that does not affect all the other historical sources and versions which are based on truth and reliability.

As stated earlier, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had sent a vanguard unit of twelve thousand soldiers towards Maskin so that they could restrict the movement of the enemy, while the Imam (as) himself had marched to Madain with the rest of the army and camped there. During that period, as Muawiya had reached Maskin and skirmishes between the vanguard unit and the Syrian soldiers were continuing, Imam Hasan (as)'s tent was attacked and whatever was in it, was looted.

While the Imam (as) was passing through the area of Sabaat and moving towards the city, a Kharijite attacked him with a dagger injuring him in the thigh. The incident at Madain is a tragic one in the Islamic history as the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) was attacked by his own men.

Though the history does not record any doubt about the incident itself,

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۱- Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications, pp.۱۳۸-۱۴۲; Wellhausen, 'Arab Kingdom', p. ۱۰۷ (see 'The Origin').'

yet there is considerable difference of opinion about the cause and the factors .responsible for the same

Some prominent historians like Abul Faraj Isphahani and Ibn. Atham Kufi write that Imam Hasan (as) gathered his army soon after reaching Madain and suddenly decided to address them. In the address he declared that unity and agreement among the Muslims was better than disunity and dissension, and knowing that his army was against peace, he emphasized the need for peace with Muawiya and advised them not to oppose his .decision for it

At this the Khawarij and others who were strongly in favour of war got enraged. So, they accused Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) of (God forbid) being a non-believer and attacked his tent which resulted in his being injured with the dagger.The historian Dinawari writes that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was marching towards the northern areas of Iraq when at Madain he noticed that his army was showing signs of weakness and was wavering, which .implied that they had lost the zeal to fight

Therefore, at Madain, he decided to stop the march and to address them. The incident occurred as a result of that address. Shaikh Mufid writes that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) wanted to test his soldiers and to differentiate between friend and foe before the war .with the Syrians, as he was not sure how far his army men would obey him

The analysis by these historians is vague. In this regard the basic question which has been raised by some researchers

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is why did Imam Hasan (as) make such war preparations, commanded the people to be ready for it and covered the long distance from Kufa to Madain, and then suddenly decided in favour of peace? (۱)

The other historians, among whom Tabari, Ibn. Athir, Ibn. 'Asakir, Ibn. Kathir, Ibn. Khuldun, Husayn Dayar Bakri and other later historians can prominently be mentioned, analyze the incident differently.

While describing in detail the causes of the incident, they write that the agents of Muawiya in the army of Imam Hasan (as) had spread such rumour that the Iraqi soldiers had lost the will to fight and started deserting the army. With indiscipline and disorder all around and desertion in the army, the enemies of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) got a chance to attack his tent and to rob all that was in it.

While the loot was still on and the Imam (as), riding a horse, had gone towards Madain with his trusted followers, a Kharjite attacked him on the way. As an example, these historians write that the rumour of Qais bin S'ad having been killed was spread in the army.

It cannot be denied that in the difficult circumstances, such rumors proved very effective in making the Iraqis fearful and upset and it is not unlikely that hearing the news of the death of such a well known person as S'ad they ran away, realizing that after Qais bin S'ad there was none else who could successfully challenge Muawiya. They very likely felt that

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۱- Husayn Muhammad Jafri, 'The Origin' ... p.۱۴۲.

now Muawiya with his army, would attack Madain and would either make them prisoners .or kill them

The historian Yaqubi has elaborately preserved the details of the propaganda. He writes that Muawiya sent a three man delegation for negotiations with Imam Hasan (as). The delegates, while leaving the camp of Imam Hasan (as) after negotiations, spread the false news in the army of Imam Hasan (as) that he had agreed to their offer of peace, .which caused the said incident

The writer Dinawari also supports the fact of such news being spread and mentions how Abdullah bin A'mir, a well known leader of the Syrian army, on the one hand spread fear in the minds of the Iraqi army, while on the other tried to convince them that Muawiya did not want war. (۱)

There is no shortage of evidence to prove that the real reason for the incident of Madain was not the sermon of the Imam (as), as mentioned by Abul Faraj and others, but it was to the defeatist tendency of the Iraqis, their weakness and the false propaganda of the Syrians. A majority of the original sources of history show that even after the incident of Madain, Imam Hasan (as) agreed to peace only after he was convinced that his army was .no more prepared to fight for him

In this regard those reliable sources should also be referred to wherein the historical sermon of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) has been quoted, which was given after the incident of

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Dinawari, 'Al Akhbar al Tiwal', Cairo, Dar Ahya al Kutub, ۱۹۶۰, p.۲۱۷ -۱

Madain when he was recuperating. In that sermon he had explained his attitude towards peace with Muawiya and had left the choice of peace or war with the soldiers, and only .when the soldiers raised slogans in favour of peace, had he agreed for the same

On the basis of these arguments we do not accept the conclusion drawn by Abul Faraj and Ibn. Atham etc. and do not consider the explanations given by Dinawari and Sheikh Mufid sufficient, as it was not the first occasion when the Imam (as) had seen the Iraqi army's performance in war. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had been watching the behaviour of this army since the days of his father and he could very well distinguish between fried and .foe

Moreover, the Iraqi army had not only shown signs of weakness and surrender in Madain as stated by Dinawari, but it had started to give a defeatist impression right from the time .of the Imam's (as) declaration of war in the central ('Jame') Mosque at Kufa

As far as the question of camping at Madain is concerned, we have indicated in earlier chapters the reason for it being declared as the army garrison. Briefly, the Imam (as) was facing a shortage of personnel in the army and he expected support and more supplies .from Madain

Moreover, Madain could prove to be a very important strategic location from a defensive point of view. Earlier, S'ad bin Abi Waqas had fought the Qadisiah battles declaring Madain as the central strategic

.location

The Terms of the Peace Treaty

point

Before starting a discussion on the peace treaty, it is considered necessary to state that the historians have very boldly tried to keep the world in the dark about the clauses and the relevant details of the peace treaty. Was the treaty between Imam Hasane Al-Mujtaba (as) and Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan, signed in ۴۱A.H, so unimportant that its details may be ignored? The researchers agree that not only are there surprising disagreements on the issue but there are so many ambiguities and misunderstandings as well. (۱)

The historians themselves mention that the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw) had himself advanced many conditions, had taken so many commitments and assurances and .had only then agreed to peace

These terms, which had been proposed by Imam Hasan (as), were in the interest of Muslim Ummah in general and the treaty was signed with the witnesses of prominent personalities of Iraq and Syria. Before going into the details of the treaty, it is essential to .briefly review the historical sources

The historians Masudi and Yaqubi do not mention the terms at all. Similarly, Ibn. Hajar 'Asqalani and Hakim Naishapuri do admit that (Imam) Hasan (as) had made peace only after so many terms had been agreed and commitments and assurances given, but do .not mention the details of what those conditions were

A similar attitude can be noticed in the narration of 'Sahih-e-Bukhari' in which the details beginning with the coming of the delegations till the signing of the agreement

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Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, -۱ AnsarianPublications pp.۱۴۸,۱۴۹

have been given, but when the point of the terms and conditions is reached then the issue is evaded by writing 'etc. etc.' but it is accepted that the Syrian delegation had accepted all .(the terms and conditions of Imam Hasan (as

Abul Faraj Isphahani also does not take keen interest in the issue. After mentioning three conditions he says that other terms and conditions had also been suggested by Imam Hasan (as) which the delegation sent by Muawiya had accepted. The historian Tabari records the treaty (like other issues relating to Imam Hasan (as)) giving two different .narrations by Zuhri and 'Awana bin Hakam

Zuhri, instead of describing the details, tries to create some misunderstanding. As against him, Tabari records three conditions directly from 'Awana bin Hakam and the fourth indirectly. The historian Dinawari has mentioned four conditions but his sources are quite different from others. Ibn. Abi-al-HAdid takes three conditions from Madaini and the fourth one is incidentally considered as a separate issue which is taken from Madaini .himself

A more or less similar attitude has been adopted by the rest of the historians who have considered it sufficient to record one, two or at best three terms, but none of them considers it essential to describe the text of the treaty or the details of the resolutions which had been agreed to after so many exchanges and meetings between the two (delegations. (۱

'Among the old historical records only 'Al-Futuh' of Ibn. Atham Kufi and 'Ansabul Ashraf

p: ۱۲۶

.The sources have been given in later chapters -۱

by Baladhuri contain the text of the treaty and five terms and conditions are mentioned in it. Outwardly, one may conclude that these were the only terms agreed upon. However, a thorough search of other records reveals that the picture is quite different as there were !other conditions too

In such a situation, neither any one historical source can be totally relied upon nor the general conditions mentioned here and there can be taken as true. Only after great effort and deep research about the available sources and the circumstances prevailing at that .time, can the correct terms and conditions of the treaty can be determined

The Blank Paper

The historian Baladhuri writes in 'Ansabul Ashraf' that Muawiya sent Abdullah b. Amir b. Kerez and 'Abdel Rahman b. Samarah to (Imam) Hasan (as) and the two informed Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) about the damages through war and the consequences of continued bloodshed among Muslims, and indicated the willingness of Muawiya to hand over the .rule to Imam Hasan (as) after his death

In addition, they said that Muawiya would offer much more to Imam Hasan (as) in lieu of peace. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) agreed with their ideas and sent 'Umru bin Salma Hamdani, Arhabi and Muhammad bin Ash'as Kandi along with them so that they could record the terms offered by Muawiya and may express the agreement (on behalf of Imam Hasan :((as)). So, Muawiya sent the following letter to Imam Hasan (as

This letter is from Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan for Hasan bin ‘Ali (as). I"

p: ۱۲۷

make peace with you on the condition that after me the government will be handed over to you and I vouch for you before God, feeling obliged to God and the Holy Prophet (saws), remembering the firm pledge taken by the Glorified God from any of His bondsmen, that I will neither indulge in any intrigue against you nor would conduct any .armed struggle against you

Further that each year I will pay you ten lakh (one million) Dirham from Baitul Maal and the revenue of Mansa and Darb Jard (Darabgard) will be reserved for you. 'Abdullah b. Amir, 'Umru b. Salma Hamdani, 'Abdel Rahman b. Samarah and Muhammad bin Ash'as ."Kandi are witness to it and it has been written in Rabi II ۴۱ A.H

When Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) read the above letter of Muawiya, he gave a brief reply in one sentence: "He is trying to tempt me about something which I would not hand over to him if I had an inclination towards it." After quoting the above sentence of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), Baladhuri writes that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) called 'Abdullah bin Haras b. Noful, the nephew of Muawiya, and told him that he should go to his uncle (Muawiya) and tell him that if Muawiya was agreeable to guarantee the life and honour of the general public, then he would agree to hand over the reign to him. 'Abdullah b. Haras went to .Muawiya and explained the condition to him

In return Muawiya gave him a blank paper

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at the end of which was the seal of Muawiya, and sent the message to Imam Hasan (as) .that he may write on it (the white paper) whatever he thought fit

Imam Hasan (as) wrote the required terms and conditions on it, and after taking the signatures of the high powered Syrian delegation as witness, sent it back to Muawiya so that he (Muawiya) may affirm his agreement to all those terms and both these persons (may be a witness to the agreement. (۱

:Ibn. Atham Kufi has also written about the blank paper with some variation. He writes

On learning of the betrayal by Iraqi nobles and after addressing them, (Imam) Hasan" (as) sent 'Abdullah b. Haras to Muawiya and stated that if Muawiya is ready to protect the life, property and honour of all men, then he would give allegiance to him, otherwise he .would not do so

When 'Abdullah b. Haras reached Muawiya, he (Muawiya) wanted to know the terms of peace. He added a few conditions (the same which, according to Baladhuri, had been suggested by Muawiya). At this Muawiya asked for a blank paper and putting his seal on it :with his own finger, said

Take this page to Hasan (as) and tell him to write in it whatever he wishes. All his' ((Muawiya's) companions are a witness that he has willingly put the seal by himself.'" (۲

After studying these two historical sources also, the issue is not clear as to why the need for sending the

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Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Darul Ta'aruf lil Mat boo'at, ۱۹۷۷, vol. ۳, p.۴۰-۴۲ -۱

.Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Usmania, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۴, p.۱۵۸-۱۵۹ -۲

blank paper arose when Muawiya had agreed to all the terms and conditions conveyed by the representative of Imam Hasan (as)? However, after studying other historical .documents, the problem is solved

These documents clearly indicate that Imam Hasan (as) had demanded some terms and conditions from Muawiya before agreeing to peace. These included the issue of the next caliph and general peace and order to be included in the peace treaty, as Imam Hasan (as) had demanded that the caliphate must be returned to him after the death of Muawiya and that the people of Iraq, Hijaz and Madina would not be arrested for having .fought Muawiya in the days of his (Imam's) father

Muawiya was ready to accept all the terms and conditions of Imam Hasan (as), except that he could not guarantee the safety of ten persons who included prominent persons like Qais b. S'ad against whom Muawiya had vouched to cut his tongue and hands whenever arrested. Imam Hasan (as) conveyed to Muawiya that in such a situation, he .was not prepared for peace with him

Learning this, Muawiya put his seal on the blank paper and handed it over to the representative of the Imam (as) so that he may write what he thought appropriate and that he was willing to accept all the terms of the Imam (as) regarding peace. Imam Hasan .(as) wrote all the terms and conditions demanded by him and sent it back to Muawiya

When Muawiya agreed to those terms and a

promise for the same was taken from him in the presence of responsible persons, only then the agreement was reached between the two sides according to which Imam Hasan (as) agreed to hand over the government to Muawiya for a given time (i.e. till the time (Muawiya was alive). (۱)

The narration about the blank paper and related facts can also be traced from other historical sources which show that the delegation of Muawiya had accepted all the demands of Imam Hasan (as) and both sides had arrived at total agreement before the (treaty. (۲)

For that reason, a team of researchers supports the narration about the blank paper being sent and agreement between both sides being reached on the terms written down by Imam Hasan (as). For the same reason, the year of the treaty is known as "A'am al-(Jama'at" (the year of understanding). (۳)

Zuhri also does not deny the existence of "sahifa-e-baiza", i.e. the white paper, but he mentions its dispatch at a time which does not seem to be logical. Zuhri claims that when the conditions in Iraq deteriorated, then Imam Hasan (as) wrote to Muawiya about peace .and put forward his conditions

At the same time Muawiya had sent a delegation with a blank paper which had the seal of Muawiya. When the blank paper was presented to the Imam (as), he added more terms for peace and kept it with him. On his side, Muawiya agreed to the terms of peace as indicated in the letter

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Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Shabaan, vol. ۲ p.۳۹۰; - ۱ Muhib al Tabari - Dhakair al Uqba, Cairo, Maktaba al Qudsi, ۱۳۵۶ A.H., p. ۱۳۹; Ibn. A'bdul '.Barr, 'Al IStiab

Ibn. Hajar Asqalani - 'Al Asabah fi Tamyiz al Sahaba; Suyuti - 'Tarikh al Khulafa', - ۲ Qum,Intisharat al Raza, ۱۴۱۱ A.H., p. ۱۹۱.; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, ۱۹۶۵, vol.۱, p.۴۳; Bukhari - 'Sahih Bukhari'; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Al A'bar;, Beirut, Darul Kutub al Ilmia, vol. ۱, p.۳۵; Ibn. Qutaiba - 'Al Imama wal Siyasa', Qum, Manshurat al Razi, .۱۴۱۳ A.H. p.۱۸۴

Hasan Kamil al Maltavi, 'al Imam al Hasan bin ‘Ali', Cairo, Ministry of 'Auqaaf', Egypt, . -٣ ١٩٩۴, p.١٢٣; Abdus Salaam Tarmanini – 'Ahdas al Tarikh al Islami', Al Kuwait, Majlis al Watani-lil-Saqafa, ١٩٨٨, vol.١, p.۴٢٠; Husayn Muhammad Jafri – 'The Origins and Early .Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications pp. ١۵١-١۵٢

.of Imam Hasan (as), but refused to agree to additional terms

When the two sides met, there was disagreement between them about peace. Imam Hasan (as) stated that the terms and conditions written in the blank paper are reliable while Muawiya said that he agreed to the original terms but did not agree to the conditions added later. Due to this disagreement, Muawiya did not fulfill any of the conditions of Imam Hasan (as). (۱)

Later historians, who include Ibn. Athir, Abu Mustakuya and Dr. Taha Husayn, were also misled by the above misunderstanding created by Zuhri. (۲)

These persons do not totally rely on Zuhri's narration, yet they have faced some difficulty in this regard. We have discussed Zuhri's narrations about Imam Hasan (as) in previous chapters and have proved that Zuhri is so much biased against Imam Hasan (as) that he defends Muawiya even at the cost of Imam Hasan (as).

By the assumed misunderstanding he wants to give the impression that if Muawiya did not fulfill the terms of Imam Hasan (as), its reason was not breach of the agreement but mutual differences, in which in a way both were right. However, no other historical reference is available to show that all the issues had not been settled between the two sides before the agreement, as claimed by Zuhri.

On the other hand, all historians agree that both sides had agreed on the terms of the treaty before its being signed, but Muawiya did not honour it after

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۱- Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۷.

۲- . Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh, Beirut: Dar Ahya al Turas, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲, p.۴۴۶. Dr. Taha Husayn - 'Islamiat, Al Fitnah al Kubra 'Ali-o-Nubuwah', Beirut, Dar ul Ilm, ۱۹۹۱, pp. ۹۷۹-۹۸۰; Abu Maskuya - 'Tajarib al Ummum', Tehran, Dar Sarosh, ۱۹۸۷, vol. ۱, p. ۳۸۷.

the treaty had been signed and announced. Another reason for Zuhri's version being unreliable is that he neither narrates the conditions of the agreement proposed earlier, nor the details of those added later, nor is he able to give any logical timing of the blank !paper being sent

The learned scholar Sheikh Razi Ale Yasin gives his opinion about the blank page sent by Muawiya in the following words: "The historians and biographers have changed the detailed terms and conditions of the peace treaty into an abridgment for the reason that ','on the basis of write whatever conditions you wish, as you have the right for the same

They feel that, as the blank paper had the seal of Muawiya, Imam Hasan (as) might have put as many conditions in it which he considered appropriate or which suited his aims and objectives, whether those related to his own self or his Ahlul Bayt (as) or his Shia. No other "!doubt exists on the said issue

He further writes: "if today the situation is that we cannot clearly distinguish all the terms of the agreement, so what? We know this much that all the terms were in favour of Imam Hasan (as) and could lead to his success. So, all those terms and conditions which would be to the advantage of Imam Hasan (as) and to the disadvantage of Muawiya, would be correct (would be part of the agreement). This is due to the fact that Imam Hasan (as) was absolutely free to write

p: ۱۳۳

(in the agreement whatever he thought fit." (۱)

The Terms and Conditions of the Peace Treaty

The peace treaty between Imam Hasan bin 'Ali (as) and Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan was signed on the following terms and conditions:

۱. Hasan (as) would hand over the rule, or government, to Muawiya provided he acts according to the Holy Book of God, the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (saws) and the character of pious and virtuous caliphs.

۲. Muawiya does not have a right to nominate anyone after him. The rule would be handed back to Hasan (as) after him, or according to some narrations, it would be left to a consultative body ('shura') of Muslims.

۳. The life, property and honour of the general public, whether black or white, belonging to Syria, Iraq, Tihama, Hijaz or which ever area, would be safeguarded.

۴. The life, property, and honour of Shias of Imam 'Ali (as) and their family members, will be protected and Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan is bound by the covenant of Almighty God in this respect and he will honour his covenant with Almighty God in this regard.

۵. Muawiya will not take any open or secret action against Imam Hasan bin 'Ali (as) or against Ahlul Bayt (as) of the Holy Prophet (saws) and he will not try to terrorize them anywhere on earth.

۶. Imam 'Ali (as) will be remembered with honour and dignity and he will not be reviled, according to some narrations, in the life time of Imam Hasan (as) no abusive language against Hazrat 'Ali (as) will be used.

۷. Muawiya

۱- Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Razi, ۱۹۹۳, p.۲۵۸.

will hand over the Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa and the revenue of Darab Jard (Darabgard) to him (Imam Hasan (as)) so that he may meet his expenses from the same and may repay the .debt and other dues

Analysis of the Terms and Conditions

Following the Book and Sunnah

Hasan (as) would hand over the rule, or government, to Muawiya provided he acts" according to the Holy Book of God, the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (saw) and the (character of pious and virtuous caliphs;" (۱

In the above first condition, many points have to be thoroughly studied: The Imam (as), by demanding Muawiya to follow the Book and Sunnah as the first condition of the Treaty, proved that acting according to the Book and Sunnah was the ideal goal of the Imam (as), and if he was handing over the reign temporarily to Muawiya, then only his steps in .accordance with the Shariah would be considered legal

Accordingly, if Muawiya went against the said condition and Imam Hasan (as) were able to rule again, then he would have the legal right to claim it back from Muawiya. In fact, the Imam (as) had restricted the actions of Muawiya to be within law and constitution. Incidentally, by adding the virtuous character of pious caliphs as a condition, he had by implication also proved that his father was a pious and virtuous caliph and the feelings .and ideas of Muawiya about him were wrong

If earlier his father had not accepted the condition (of following the previous caliphs) in the 'Shura' of Hazrat Umar, it was

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Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۶۰; Baladhuri - Al-Ansab al Ashraf, vol. ۳ p., Ibn. Abi al -۱ Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo: Dar Ahya al Kutub al Arabia, ۱۹۶۲, vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', p.۱۲۱; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, Manshuraat al Razi, ۱۹۹۳, p.۲۵۹. Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early .Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications, p.۱۵۲

due to the fact that he did not consider their style in accordance with religious standard and he himself had better grasp and understanding than them of the issues relating to .the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah

Monarchy or Caliphate

Another important point for consideration in the above condition is whether Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had handed over the rule over Muslims and the government to Muawiya through peace treaty, or he had given allegiance to Muawiya as a caliph and had accept .ed the caliphate of Muawiya formally

It should be clearly understood that often such language has been used in historical versions which implies that either Imam Hasan (as) had shown his willingness to give allegiance to Muawiya, or had assured him of following him completely, or handed over the caliphate to him, or, in the words of historian Ibn. Qutaiba, had handed over the !Imamat to him

We are not concerned about the words used. Ahlul Sunnat in this regard differentiate between caliphate and 'Khilafate Rashida' (truly religious caliphate). Without going into this argument, we have to find an answer to the question whether Imam Hasan (as) had handed over the caliphate to Muawiya and accepted him formally as a caliph and had given allegiance to him (i.e. the way the allegiance was given by the Muslims wherein the .(commitment of complete obedience to the caliph was made

Alternatively, whether Imam Hasan (as) had made a peace treaty with Muawiya like an agreement between two parties in any other dispute, rather than giving allegiance and, through

the agreement, he had temporarily handed over the government to Muawiya on specified ?'conditions and not the high religious authority which is called 'caliphate

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was a duly elected and formal caliph of Muslims. His caliphate had all the legal and constitutional validity which was in accordance with the practice among .the Muslims at the time

Not only the leading personalities and the residents of Haramain Sharifain had paid allegiance to him but he also had the support of all the states and the opposition by Syria and Egypt could not affect the constitutional position, especially as a period of six months .had elapsed since his taking over as the caliph

If Imam Hasan (as) had given allegiance to Muawiya or had agreed to hand over the caliphate to him, granting him the legitimacy of caliphate, then Muawiya would have been included among the true Islamic caliphs ('Rashidin Caliph') and no political opponent of his would have been able to challenge that status as Hazrat Abu Bakr had also nominated .Hazrat Umar as caliph

However, the fact remains that after fourteen hundred years, even the supporters of Muawiya cannot dare claim that Muawiya was a truly Islamic caliph ('Rashid Caliph'). Muawiya understood the point very well and when he fully realized the political plan of Imam Hasan (as), even before the formal announcement of the peace treaty, he .publicized that Imam Hasan (as) had accepted him as a caliph

Perhaps he thought that through a large army, military strength and repenting

his earlier deed against Imam Hasan (as), he would be successful in getting recognition as a caliph. However, despite the political and military pressure, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) not only refused to accept Muawiya as a caliph, but accused him as being power hungry and declared his government as oppressive and illegal. We will discuss the .details of this aspect in subsequent chapters

For that reason, though some historians have shown anxiety, a majority of them have expressed words like 'tasleem-ul-amr' (acceptance of the order) or 'nuzool-ul-hukm' (receipt of a directive), which clearly indicate that the Imam (as) had only relinquished power, or handed over government, to Muawiya. A team of current researchers supports :this view. A few leading ones among these are

,Justice Amir 'Ali

,Dr. Abdel Salam Turmanini

,Dr. Syed Muhammad Vakil

(The scholar Razi Aale Yasin. (۱

It was Imam Al-Mujtaba (as)'s maturity of thought, example of excellence, courage, and the success of his political foresight which resulted in Muawiya being considered as a monarch or king by all sections of the society at that time, and he had to accept that status. A clear example of the same is that after Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), S'ad bin Abi Waqas, the well known Companion of the Holy Prophet (saws), addressed Muawiya as ('monarch'. (۲

However, there is no historical significance of allegiance to Muawiya after peace. Rather some researcher or historian, while discussing the peace, might only guess that Imam .Hasan (as) might have given allegiance

The scholar Razi Aale

p: ۱۳۸

Amir 'Ali - 'Mukhtasar Tarikh al Arab' (Arabic translation: 'feef B'albaki), Beirut, Dar ul - ۱

Ilm lil Malayeen, ۱۹۶۱, p...; Abdus Salaam Tarmanini - 'Ahdaas al Tarikh al Islami',vol. ۱, p.۴۲۰; Mohd. Vakil - 'Al Umayyun bain al Sharq wal Gharb', Beirut, Dar al Shamiah, ۱۹۹۵, vol. ۱ p.۲۵; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, pp.۲۶۷-۲۷۶.

۲- . Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah, ۱۹۸۷, vol. ۳ p. ۲۷۵; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, pp.۲۶۸.

:Yasin, while discussing the issue of monarchy or caliphate, writes

We know for sure that referring to Ahlul Bayt (as), Muawiya told his son Yazeed 'certainly it is their right'! It is also in our knowledge that while offering peace, Muawiya wrote to Imam Hasan (as): 'the affairs will not be decided without your order nor shall your views .' "!!be opposed on any issue

We are also aware that after taking over the reigns, Muawiya while addressing from the pulpit at Kufa, said: "I did not wage war against you that you may say the prayers and observe fast, I only fought against you that I may rule over you."!!! We have also learnt that Imam Hasan bin 'Ali (as) had refused to accept Muawiya as caliph, on which Muawiya .kept quiet and could not refute him

The scholar Aale Yasin, analyzing these arguments, draws the conclusion that: "Now we can say with certainty that when Muawiya took over the rule, he did not assume caliphate. And when he himself said that 'I did not wage war against you that you may say the prayers and observe fast...', then he himself proved that he was not a religious guide or caliph but an ordinary ruler having worldly consideration, who was not interested in .prayers or fasting. All that he wanted was to rule over the people

Similarly, Muawiya's words 'decisions will be taken with your (Imam's) consent' or 'the right belongs to them', clearly indicate that he conceded that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had

such a high religious standing which Muawiya could not challenge. Certainly, caliphate is nothing other than that high status! For that reason, when Imam Hasan (as) declined to accept his caliphate and said that he was claiming caliphate without any justification, Muawiya had no choice except to keep quiet. (۱)

The future of Caliphate

Muawiya does not have the right to nominate anyone after him. After him the authority" shall return to (Imam) Hasan (as). According to some narrations, 'after Muawiya, it will be '."left to 'Shura' of Muslims as they deem fit

Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as) knew the intentions of Muawiya very well. He knew that Muawiya will change the Islamic system of government to the kingdom of Qaiser and Kisra and it will become his family hierarchy. Therefore, the Imam had, by agreement, .taken away the right of nomination of heir apparent from him

What is narrated by some that the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw) had advanced the condition that Muawiya will not nominate anyone after him but rather the election of the caliph will be left to the 'Shura' of Muslims, is not correct. (۲)

Allama Ibn. 'Abdul Barr writes: "There is no difference of opinion among ulama that Imam' Hasan (as) had offered the rule to Muawiya till his life time only. Therefore, it had to return to Imam Hasan (as) after him and this was one of the conditions of the agreement .between the two

Imam Hasan (as) considered it advisable not to shed the blood of Muslims

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۱- Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', pp.۲۷۴-۲۷۵.

۲- . Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۵۹; Baladhuri - Al-Ansab al Ashraf, vol. ۳ p.۴۲; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol. ۱۶, p.۲۲.

for the sake of caliphate and made the agreement, though he considered himself much more entitled to caliphate." 'Allama Ibn. 'Abdul Barr quotes many narrations in which the condition of the government being returned to Imam Hasan (as) is very clearly (mentioned. (۱

Hafiz Dhahabi also writes about this condition very strongly in his various publications. He also quotes 'Umru bin Deenar according to whom Muawiya had made the agreement with Imam Hasan (as) that if he meets with any accident, the rule will be returned to (Imam Hasan (as). (۲

All the historians and researchers who have mentioned this condition are: Ibn. S'ad (according to Ibn. Hajar 'Asqalani), Ibn. Hajar Asqalani (Al-asabah fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba) Ibn. Asakir (Tarikh-e-Ibn. Asakir), Muhib al-Tabari (Dhakair al-Uqba), Ibn. Qutaiba Dinawari (al-Imamah wal-Siyasa), Husayn Dayar Bakri (Tarikh al-Khamis), Suyuti (Tarikh al-Khulafa), Ibn. Abdul Barr (al-Istiab) Hafiz Dhahabi (Tarikh al-Islam-o-al-'abar) Dr. (Abdul Salam Tarmanini (Ahdas al-Tarikh al-Islami) (۳

All these writers have clearly written that, according to the agreement, the rule had to return to Imam Hasan (as) after Muawiya. Apart from this, there are other sources of .evidence after which no element of doubt remains in accepting this condition

In this regard, attention is drawn to those letters of Muawiya, written before peace, wherein he had offered the future government to Imam Hasan (as) and had confessed that he (Imam Hasan (as)) was the rightful claimant of the same. In addition to these .letters, another argument is available from Ibn. Qutaiba Dinawari and other sources

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'.Ibn. A'bdul Barr - 'Al IStiab -۱

Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh Al Islam', Beirut, Darul Kutub al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, Period of Muawiya, -۲ p.۵; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Al A'bar;, Beirut, vol. ۱,pp. ۳۴-۳۵; refer to Ibn. Hajar - 'Al Asaba fi '.Tamyiz al Sahaba

Ibn. Hajar - 'Al Asaba fi Tamyiz al Sahaba'; Muhib al Tabari - Dhakair al Uqba, Cairo, -۳ Maktaba al Qudsi, ۱۳۵۶ A.H., p. ۱۳۹; Ibn. Qutaiba Dainwari - 'Al Imama wal Siyasa', Qum, Intisharat al Razi, ۱۴۱۳ A.H. p.۱۸۴; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis, p.۳۹۰; Suyuti -

'Tarikh al Khulafa', Qum,Intisharat al Raza, ١۴١١ A.H., p. ١٩١; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq'...Asakir, Beirut, Darul Ahya al..., ١٩٨٧, vol ۴, p.٢٢۴.

They write that when Muawiya tried to appoint Yazid as his heir apparent and invited delegations from different areas, all the others agreed but when the Iraqi delegation was asked about it, its leader Akhnaf bin Qais said:

"O Muawiya) you have already made an agreement with Imam Hasan (as) in the name of God (and religion), of which you are well aware, that after you, the government will be his." (۱)

Only the historians Ibn. Aasam Kufi, Baladhuri and Ibn. Abi al-HAdid Mo'tazilli disagree with this condition and state that Imam Hasan (as) had said that the choice of future incumbent of caliphate should be left to 'Shura'. (۲)

The other writers do not write anything about the appointment of the future caliph.

Firstly, this disagreement does not have much force in that if the Muslims were consulted, whether in the life of Muawiya, or after him, they would not elect anyone except Imam Hasan (as) as they loved him more than even his father. However, it seems that by adding the condition of 'shura' an impression has been given that Imam Hasan (as) had abdicated and had handed over the rule to Muawiya.

Therefore, after Muawiya he needed a fresh mandate for caliphate, which would be available through 'shura'. But these writers ignore the fact that Imam Hasan (as) had put in all the terms and conditions in the blank paper which he thought fit; he had completed six months of caliphate and had handed over the rule to Muawiya

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۱- Ibn. Qutaiba - 'Al Imamah wal Siyasah', Egypt: Shirka Mustafa al Babi, ۱۹۶۳, vol. ۱ p. ۱۷۱.

۲- The references have been quoted earlier.

.for a given period

Therefore, the authority to rule over Muslims should have been returned to him according to law and ethics and it does not make sense that he himself would raise the issue of 'shura'. Ibn. Aasam Kufi and Baladhuri also write that Muawiya had offered the future rule .to Imam Hasan (as) but they claim that the Imam (as) had shown no inclination towards it

We feel that these writers have mixed up two issues: one, concerning the destiny of Muslims, and the other, regarding worldly rank and wealth. Imam Hasan (as) had not shown disinclination towards the guidance of Muslims, or caliphate. He had rather shown .no interest towards worldly status and the collection of wealth through it

We have discussed the issue in the earlier chapter on 'the philosophy of peace'. In support of the argument is the narration of Baladhuri himself wherein he has mentioned that when Muawiya offered his future rule and huge sums of money to Imam Hasan (as), he had replied: "he is tempting me towards something which, if I had any inclination (towards the same, I would not offer it to him." (١

Dr. Taha Husayn has also arrived at the same truth. He adds another point in this connection that, in the opinion of Imam Hasan (as), Muawiya did not have any right to :nominate anyone as his heir apparent. In his book 'Fitnatul Kubra' he writes

Muawiya had made three offers to Imam Hasan (as): (١) he would nominate him as"

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.Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ٣ p.٤١ . -١

his crown prince; (۲) he would pay him ten lakh (one million) Dirham every year from Baitul Maal; and (۳) he would pay the tax revenue of two Persian states to him. Imam Hasan (as) did not accept the offer as, according to him, Muawiya did not have the right to (one of these, i.e. the issue of appointing the crown prince." (۱)

It can be clearly concluded that Imam Hasan (as) had not totally rejected the offer of Muawiya but rather that Muawiya did not have the right to offer the same. In the .language of 'al-Futuh' the historical record by Ibn

Atham, there is a contradiction, or may be, some confusion, when on the one hand, it is stated that these conditions were proposed by the delegation of Imam Hasan (as), while, on the other, it is mentioned as an offer by Muawiya. After the above arguments, we are .firmly of the opinion that this is not a correct statement

In some narrations not only by Shias but others as well, it is stated that Imam Hasan (as) had put the condition that after him the caliphate would be handed over to Imam Husayn (as) and he would be his heir apparent. Justice Amir 'Ali, the author of 'Roohe Islam' (the (soul of Islam), also supports this view.(۲)

It is not improbable that due to the danger to his life, he might have had the foresight and selected, among all, Imam Husayn (as). Behind this decision of the Imam were

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۱- Taha Husayn - 'Islamiyat - Al Fitnatul Kubra'-'Ali-o-Nubuwah', p.۹۷۹.

۲- Amir 'Ali - 'Mukhtasar Tarikh al Arab', ۱۹۶۱, p.۸۷.

not the family traditions or the fear but rather the religious principles and the political philosophy of his grandfather, the Holy Prophet (saws), who had very well introduced the abilities of these two brothers and had clearly shown the Muslims their leadership qualities through so many of his traditions. However, it may be said that the fact of Imam .Husayn (as)'s nomination is not so well recorded in history

The restoration of Peace and Order

The life and property of all persons, whether black, red (Persian slave) or of whatever" colour, and living in Syria, Iraq, Tihama, Hijaz or anywhere else, will be protected and they (will not be harmed." (١)

This condition reflects that one of the top priorities of Imam Hasan (as) was to provide protection of life, property and honour to all men. With the conquest of vast territories, many Persians, named as 'Humaraa', had also been enslaved along with the blacks and .had become part of the Muslim Ummah

Due to the tribal and the feudal system of the Arabs, they had not yet been granted full citizenship rights. Rather, they were oppressed. Rising above the consideration of Muslim or non-Muslim, master or slave, the Imam (as) had made peace with Muawiya on the .condition that he will protect the life, property and honour of all persons

This way the Imam (as) proved that he was above the distinction based on colour, religion or race was very serious about restoring peace, and that it was his goal to protect the life, property and honour

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Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.١۶٠; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ٣ p.۴٢; Ibn. Abi al . -١ Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah',vol. ١۶, p.٢٢; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', p.٣٩٠; Taha Husayn - Islamiyat - 'Al Fitnatul Kubra' pp.٩٧٩-٩٨٠; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', p.١٢١; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum, p.٢۶٠; Baqar Qarshi - .'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol ٢, p.٢۴٢

.of every person living in the Muslim society

The Shias of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib

The life, property, and honour of Shias of Imam'Ali (as) and his family members, will be" protected and Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan will honour his covenant with Almighty God in this (regard" (۱

In the previous chapters we have indicated that wars between Syria and Iraq had been going on for a long time, beginning with the 'Siffeen' war during the period of Imam 'Ali (as) in which the supporters of the Imam and the lovers of Islam had participated in large numbers, and Muawiya's army had not only suffered huge life and property losses but .had also suffered defeat in the battlefield

The faithful to the Imam (as) were known as the Shias of Imam'Ali as they considered the members of the house hold of the Holy Prophet (saws) as rightful claimants to the caliphate. They included many Companions of the Holy Prophet (saws) from Badr as well. Although many of these faithful followers of Imam 'Ali (as) had been martyred, yet those .that remained were wanted by Muawiya and his military commanders

Qais bin Sa'd, the well-known leader, who was the ۲nd in command of the vanguard unit, and who with a small force of four thousand soldiers, had harassed the sixty thousand .strong army of Muawiya and had put up a tough fight, was one of those wanted by them

That is why, when 'Abdullah bin Haras, the delegate of Imam Hasan (as) put it to Muawiya that if he was prepared to

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۱- . Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۶۰; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳ p.۴۲; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', vol.۱۶, p.۱۸ p.۴۴; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, ۱۹۶۵, vol.۱, p.۴۳; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications, p.۱۴۹; Abu J'far al Tabari - 'Tarikh al Ummum wal Mulook (Tarikh al Tabari)', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۷۰; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', p.۱۲۱; Taha Husayn - Islamiyat - 'Al Fitnatul Kubra' pp.۹۷۹-۹۸۰; Sheikh Mufid - 'Kitab al Irshad' vol. ۲ p.۱۰; Baqar Qarshi -

.'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin ‘Ali', vol ۲, p.۲۴۴

agree to protect the life, property and honour of the residents of Iraq, Hijaz and Madina, and to ignore their actions of the days of the Imam's illustrious father, it being a major .condition, then the Imam would be agreeable for peace

However, when Muawiya refused to grant amnesty to ten followers of Imam ‘Ali (as) and said that whenever he would get hold of Qais, he would severe his hands and feet, Imam (Al-Mujtaba (as) and his representative refused to agree to a conditional peace. (١)

This shows how much love and consideration for the life, property and honour of his, and his noble father's, sincere supporters and their families the Imam (as) had, as he was not prepared to make any compromise whatsoever in this regard. It was because of the firm stand taken by the Imam (as) that Muawiya sent a blank paper and had to agree to all the .(conditions written on it by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as

It was a great political success of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) that he got the agreement of Muawiya for complete protection of his sincere followers. It is the duty of a true leader to protect the life and honour of his supporters and followers or to sacrifice them for a noble .cause

In reply to the objections raised by some of his Shias, the Imam (as) had stressed this very fact that his steps were a guarantee for their survival with honour, and if he had not done so, there would

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.References have been quoted under 'blank page' chapter . -١

have been a massacre of them. If the current religious and political leaders learn this guiding principle from Imam Hasan (as), then bloodshed and tensions among the Muslims .can be considerably reduced

Conspiracy against Ahlul Bayt of the Holy Prophet

Muawiya will not take any open or secret action against (Imam) Hasan bin 'Ali (as) or" against Ahlul Bayt of the Holy Prophet (saws) and he will not try to terrorize them (anywhere." (۱

If this condition was violated or anyone else would harm the progeny of the Holy Prophet (saws), then the blame would come to Muawiya as it was his rule. Due to the high status and the popularity of the progeny of the Holy Prophet (saws) among the Muslims, any .such conspiracy was not in the interest of Muawiya

Through this condition, in a way, it had become the responsibility of Muawiya to protect .(the life and honour of the progeny of the Holy Prophet (saws) and the Holy Ahlul Bayt (as

(The undesirable schism of reviling Hazrat 'Ali (as

Hazrat 'Ali (as) will be remembered with dignity and honour and no abusive language will" be used against him or, according to some narrations, it will not be practiced in the life of .("Imam Hasan (as

This condition, with some variation, has been recorded by the majority of the historians, some of the more prominent ones being: Abul Faraj Isphahani, Ibn. Abi-al-HAdid Mo'tazilli Ibn. Khaldun Ibn. Asakir ,Ibn. Kathir Sheikh Mufid The historian Tabari Ibn. Athir Ibn. S'ad (Ibn. Sabbagh Maliki The scholar Razi Ale Yasin The scholar Baqar Qarshi. (۲

This condition reflects that Imam

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Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', vol. ۴, p.۱۶۰; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳ p.۴۲; Taha . -۱ Husayn - 'Al Fitnatul Kubra' p.۹۷۹; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', p.۱۲۱; Razi Ale Yasin - 'Sulh-ul Hasan', Qum,p.۲۶۱; Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan .bin 'Ali', vol ۲, p.۲۴۵

Abul Faraj – 'Maqatil al Talibin', vol.۱, p.۴۳; Ibn. Abi al Hadid – 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', -۲ vol. ۱۶ p.۴۴; Ibn. Khaldun, 'Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, Muassasah A'lami lil Mutboo'at, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, p. ۱۸۶; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq'..., vol ۴, p.۲۲۴; Ibn. Kathir, 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', Beirut, Maktaba al Ma'rif. ۱۹۷۴, vol.۸, pp.۱۵-۱۶; Sheikh Mufid – 'Kitab al Irshad', Tehran, Intisharat-e-Ilmiah, vol. ۲ p.۱۰; Tabari – 'Tarikh al Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۶; Ibn. Athir – 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', vol. ۲, p.۴۴۶; Abdul Aziz Salim – 'Tarikh al Daula al Arabia, Iskandaria: Moas sasah Shabab al Jame'h, ۱۹۹۳, vol.۲, p.۳۳۷; Ibn. Sa'd – 'al Tabaqaat al Kubra', Tarjuma Al Imam al Hasan, under publication, research by Abdul Aziz Tabatabai, Qum, Moassa sah Aale Ahlul Bayt, ۱۹۹۶; Qism min al Jaza-e-Samin' p.۷۶; Ibn. Sabbagh Maliki- 'al Fusul al Muhimmah', Najaf, Darul Kutub, .p.۱۴۵; ۲۶۱; Baqar Qarshi – 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', vol ۲, p.۲۴۳

Hasan Al-Mujtaba (as) was very much concerned about the high status and respect for his illustrious father. He and his group were determined to face all conspiracies meant to .hurt the honour of Hazrat 'Ali (as) and would not show any leniency in this respect

The Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa

Muawiya would hand over the Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa and the revenue of Darab Jerd" (Darab Gard, a state in Iran) to Imam Hasan (as) so that he could meet his expenses and (pay back his debt and other dues." (۱

Before deciding whether this condition is true or false, it is necessary to study the .relevant details

The historian Tabari, and later Ibn. Athir, writes that Imam Hasan (as) wanted that Muawiya should hand over to him the money available in the Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa. Muawiya agreed to this condition. At that time there were fifty lakh (five million) Dirham in (that Bait-ul-Maal which (Imam) Hasan bin 'Ali (as) took to Madina. (۲

:Dr. Husayn Muhammad Jafri, challenging this narration of the historian Tabari, writes

:"For two reasons, there seems to be no logical reason for this condition"

Till the time of the peace agreement, Imam Hasan (as) was the undisputed caliph of .۱" ";Kufa. Therefore, the Bait-ul-Maal was under his custody

Our sources confirm that it was the practice of Hazrat 'Ali (as) that at the end of every .۲" week he used to distribute all that was in the Bait-ul-Maal. Therefore, it is difficult to ,(believe that within the few months of the caliphate of Imam Hasan (as

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Ibn. Khaldun, 'Tarikh Ibn. Khaldun', vol. ۲, p. ۱۸۶; Abdul Qadir Badran, 'Tahzib Tarikhe -۱ Damishq'...Ibn. Asakir, Beirut, vol. ۴, p.۲۲۴; Ibn. Kathir, 'Al bidayah wal Nihaya', vol.۸, p.۱۵; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Tarikh Al Islam'; Dainwari - 'Al Akhbar al Tiwal, Cairo, Dar Ahya al Kutub, ۱۹۶۰, p.۲۱۸; Ibn. Khalkan - 'Wafeeyat al 'yan', Qum, Manshurat al Razi, ۱۳۶۴ A.H., vol. ۲, p.۶۶; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh', Beirut, vol. ۲, p.۴۴۶; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', vol. ۲, p.۳۹۰; Hafiz Dhahabi, 'Al A'bar, vol. ۱, pp.۳۴-۳۵; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', vol

۳, p. ۱۶۶; Ibn. S'ad - 'al Tabaqaat al Kubra', vol. ۸,p.۷۶, under publica tion. Dr.Abdus Salaam Tarmanini - 'Ahdaas al Tarikh al Islami',vol.۱, p.۴۲۰; Abdul Aziz Salim - 'Tarikh al Daulatal Arabia,vol .۲, p.۳۳۷ ; Sayuti - 'Tarikh al Khulafa', Qum, p. ۱۹۱.

۲- Earlier references.

despite heavy war expenses and the disorder due to the martyrdom of Hazrat 'Ali (as), (fifty lakh (five million) Dirham would still be available in the Bait-ul-Maal." (۱)

In a few narrations it is mentioned that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had demanded that Muawiya should allow him to take as much money from Bait-ul-Maal as he wished so that he could repay the debt and other dues, while some others say that Imam Hasan (as) .wanted that Muawiya should hand over the Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa to him

At that time there were said to be seventy lakh (seven million) Dirham in the Bait-ul-Maal of Kufa which Imam Hasan (as) is alleged to have taken with him to Madina. Muawiya had promised to give him an additional sum of ten lakh (one million) Dirham per annum. In "Mukhtasar-al-Jame' " it is even alleged that Imam Hasan (as) had sold the caliphate to Muawiya for fifty lakh (five million) Dirham and had taken the commitment that he would (pay a similar amount annually to the Imam (as). (۲)

According to the historian Dinawari, Imam Hasan (as) had demanded that, apart from Bait-ul-Maal, the revenue of an Iranian state Darab Jard would be reserved for him a sum of twenty lakh Dirham (two million) would be given to his younger brother Imam Husayn (as) and Bani Hashim would be given preference over Bani Abde Shams. Also, that these conditions had been included in the Peace Agreement. The condition about Darab Jard's revenue has also been

p: ۱۵۰

۱- Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', p.۱۴۹.

۲- Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al Khamis', vol. ۲, p.۳۹۰.

(mentioned by other historians. (۱

All these narrations have so many inaccurate statements that the researchers doubt whether such a large amount could have been demanded from Muawiya and consider these narrations as weak. Those mentioning such narrations have used the Arabic words ."qeel or yaqal" which is a clear indication that these are weak narrations

That is why a large number of historians do not even mention these conditions. Apart :from the above, many objections can be raised against these narrations

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was the caliph of Islam. Is it possible that he was so indebted .(۱) that he needed such a large amount for its repayment while the Bait-ul-Maal of Muslims ?was under his own control

In the Bait-ul-Maal, along with booty, there is also the amount of propitiatory offerings .(۲) and Zakat. Is it possible that Imam Hasan (as), being one of the Ahlul Bayt on whom propitiatory offerings are forbidden, had considered it lawful to use the money from Bait-ul-Maal for his personal expenses? Had he done so, would the other members of the ?household of the Holy Prophet (saw) not have objected

It is a hard historical fact that huge sums had been offered to the Imam (as) by . (۳) Muawiya so that he may abdicate caliphate in favour of Muawiya, but he declined Muawiya's politics of bribery and faced him boldly. He clearly indicated that if he had the love of wealth and coveted worldly power and authority, Muawiya would never have been able to snatch the

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.The references have been quoted under No. ۲۹ -۱

.same from him

In the light of these hard facts, there is no doubt that the weak narrations, particularly those that he sold the caliphate in exchange for a certain amount and put the condition that Bani Hashim be given a higher status than Bani Umayyah, are unreliable. The fact is that in the dignified and pious life of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) there is no .chance of such behaviour

In authentic narrations about him it has been stated that twice he had distributed all that he had among the needy. Similarly, in his character and manners there is no indication that he might have aired family status and ignored the principle of equality in the .distribution of money from Bait-ul-Maal

From the Shia sources the narrations regarding the Imam (as) having asked for the .(۴) money and revenue are not confirmed. The only demand that is confirmed is that Muawiya would pay compensation to those who were killed or injured in Siffin and other wars and the revenue from Darab Jerd would be reserved for the purpose. This appears to be a reasonable condition as Muawiya was responsible for these wars and it was his .duty to compensate for the same. The scholar Baqar Qarshi writes in this regard

Imam Hasan (as) did not like that he should take any sum from the Bait-ul-Maal for" himself or his Shias. As far as he was concerned, the propitiatory offerings are forbidden for him as well as for all Ahlul

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.(Bayt (as

As far as his Shia are concerned, it cannot be denied that the propitiatory offerings are undesirable as these may include ill gotten money (after the payment of which the rest of the amount becomes 'paak'). Therefore, the Imam (as) did not consider it suitable for his Shias as well, and fixed the revenue from Darab Jerd (for compensation to them) which (was booty, and there was no element of doubt in its use for them." (۱

The scholar Hashim Ma'aruf al Hasani also doubts the weak narrations and he expresses his views thus: "These narrations lack authenticity from the point of view of continuity of source and are weak. Apart from this, it is also likely that the governments of Bani Umayya and Bani Abbas concocted such narrations just like dozens of others that they .(had concocted about Imam Hasan (as

So that they may influence human minds that Imam Hasan (as) had bargained for money in exchange for caliphate and had opted for a life of pleasure, giving up the most important religious issues. These ideas were spread by an Abbasid caliph who wanted to (harm the cause of Husayni followers who were active against the oppressive rulers. (۲

We cannot claim that the above research is a hundred percent correct but it cannot be denied that Muawiya had offered large sums to Imam Hasan (as) which he had rejected .outright as he considered it "blackmail" and bribe

In his opinion, Muawiya or any other caliph did not have

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Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', Najaf, Matba' al Aadab', ۱۹۷۳, vol ۲, - ۱ .p.۲۴۵

Hashim Ma'aruf - 'Serat al Aimmah Ithna Ashar' Beirut, Darul T'aaruf lil Mutboo'at, ۱۹۷۷, - ۲ vol. ۱, p.۵۸۴; For further reference, refer to Baqar Qarshi - 'Hayat al Imam al Hasan bin .'Ali', vol ۲, p.۴۰۵

the right to give the money belonging to Muslims to anyone – even to Imam Hasan (as). (This fact has been mentioned by Atham Kufi in his history. (١

(Researchers like Dr. Taha Husayn also do not disagree with these conclusions. (٢

The Peace Treaty's Consequences and After Effects

point

A logical result that arises in the human mind is that a treaty is meant to be implemented, but if one of the parties breaches the contract, it loses its utility. That is why Islam attaches great importance to promises and agreements and emphasizes that if the Muslims make an agreement even with the infidels, they must abide by it. Not only that, :but breach of covenant is considered a base act in Islam. The Holy Qur'an says

But because of their breaking their covenant, we cursed them and made their hearts" (hard" (۵:۱۳

Those) who violate the covenant of Allah after its confirmation, and cut asunder that") (which Allah commands to be joined, and make mischief in the land are the losers." (۲:۲۷

These Qur'anic verses clearly state that those who breach a treaty are cursed by Allah, Almighty Allah makes their hearts hard, they make mischief in the land and they act against the commands of God. As far as the covenant between Imam Hasan (as) and Muawiya is concerned, the historians have no doubt that firm commitments in this regard .had been taken from Muawiya

He had made promises with Imam Hasan (as) and had a covenant with Allah as well. The historians and biographers also do

p: ۱۵۴

.Ibn. A'sum – 'Al Futuh', vol.۴, p.۱۵۹ . -۱

.Taha Husayn – Islamiyat – 'Al Fitnatul Kubra', 'Ali-o-Nubuwa, p.۹۷۹ . -۲

not disagree that Muawiya, instead of honouring the covenant, openly violated it. A writer like Zuhri also writes that Muawiya did not act according to any one of the terms and conditions agreed in the covenant with Imam Hasan (as). (۱)

Haseen bin Munzir said: "By God, Muawiya did not act according to any term or condition of the covenant with Imam Hasan (as); he murdered Hajar and his companions; he got allegiance for his son Yazeed as the crown prince; and he poisoned Imam Hasan (as)." Ibn. Abi al Hadid has copied this sentence from Madaini. Apart from him, Baladhuri and other writers have also mentioned it.(۲)

Muawiya announced the breach of the covenant with Imam Hasan (as) from the pulpit at a time when the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) had formally announced its acceptance. He acted accordingly during his reign by destroying all the Islamic values. Muawiya openly acted against the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah not only in regard to the concept of Baitul Maal but in distribution of its amount as well.

Similarly, he acted against the rule of inheritance, against the principles of dealing with non-Muslims and in many other such instances. In fact, he adopted an aggressive practice against the commands of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. A clear example of the same is the case of Ziyad bin Sumayyah. However, to decide whether he was successful in his manipulations or that Imam Hasan (as) did not get anything, will be premature!

As far as the

p: ۱۵۵

۱- Tabari - 'Tarikh al-Tabari', Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ۱۹۸۸, vol ۳, p. ۱۶۷.

۲- Ibn. Abi al Hadid - 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo, Mustafa dar al Babi, ۱۹۶۲, vol. ۱۶, p.۱۷; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Dar ul Ta'aruf, ۱۹۷۷,vol. ۳, p.۴۷.

aims and objective of Muawiya are concerned, the analysis by the researchers shows that his ultimate aim was not to defeat Imam Hasan (as) in the battlefield, because if he had been martyred, Muawiya would have only achieved political leadership and his rule would not be considered legal and in accordance with Shariah. (١)

His real aim was to get a legal status for his government which was possible if Imam Hasan (as) abdicated in his favour and, through the peace treaty, gave him the right to rule. For this reason, he was offering peace from the beginning and was frightening the Iraqis with the consequences of war.

When, through disorder, the internal conditions in his own army became apparent and it was most difficult for Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) to continue the war, then he agreed for peace with Muawiya, but he was only willing to allow him the right to rule in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

There was wide disagreement between the two sides about the terms and conditions of the peace treaty, but when Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) refused to agree to peace under unreasonable conditions, then Muawiya had to agree to all the terms and conditions proposed by the Imam (as) and the treaty was signed accordingly.

Muawiya had thought that he would overcome the will of the Imam (as) through power, money and military strength, like he had managed with the Iraqi army personnel and the landlords of Kufa. The Syrian army had made a show

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١- Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications, p.١٣۴.

of strength and Muawiya put full political pressure on the Imam (as) that he should formally accept Muawiya as a caliph, but the Imam (as) not only did not accept him as a .caliph

But rather called him an oppressive ruler and one who was after power at any cost and who had considered enjoying the pleasures of the world as the ultimate aim of his brief life. Due to the will power and extreme determination of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saw), which Muawiya could not visualize earlier, he had to accept the condition that he .was only a monarch and not a caliph

It is quite likely that Muawiya would have practically acted against the peace treaty in any case, yet his open announcement of the same from the pulpit, in the presence of a large assembly of Muslims of Kufa, shows his strong reaction. This reaction became visible .when he failed in his main mission

It is a great political victory of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) that through his words and action he proved the difference between monarchy and caliphate. That is how Muslim thinkers and the ulama could clearly distinguish monarchy from caliphate and declared Muawiya as a .monarch

Had the Imam (as) not succeeded in his mission, the Muslims would not have been able to understand the difference between monarchy and caliphate till Doomsday. It is a tragedy that knowledgeable persons have seldom appreciated this great achievement of Imam !(Al-Mujtaba (as

As far as the utility of the terms

p: ١٥٧

and conditions of the Peace Treaty is concerned, it was not restricted to their enforcement only; rather it had a wider implication, which should be looked at from .different angles

The first condition of the Treaty was that Muawiya was obliged to act according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. Some researchers think that, like other earlier caliphs, the Imam .(as) had only formally put this condition as part of the treaty

However, we do not consider this analysis as correct as it is evident that although the Imam (as) knew that Muawiya would not act according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah yet this way the Imam (as) granted only those actions of Muawiya as legal which were according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. If Muawiya acted against the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, then the responsibility for those actions could not be placed on Imam Hasan (as) .as he had not accepted Muawiya as having full authority

Moreover, if the Muslim Ummah had awakened and launched a movement under the guidance of the grandson of the Holy Prophet SAW), then Imam Hasan (as) would have been legally justified to boycott the government of Muawiya and lead the movement against him as he was not acting according to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah and was thus .breaching the agreement

The second condition of the agreement was that Muawiya did not have the right to nominate his heir apparent and after him the reign of the government would be handed back to Hasan

p: ١٥٨

.(bin 'Ali (as

There is no doubt that Muawiya was all the time scheming to nominate his son Yazeed as his heir apparent. However, though he had all the worldly power, he did not dare do so in the life of Imam Hasan (as). Once he did try to launch a movement to declare Yazeed as his heir apparent but the Iraqi delegation told him clearly that during the life of Imam .Hasan (as) they could not give such an allegiance

Dr. Syed Abdul Aziz Salim writes: "Muawiya made up his mind to get allegiance for Yazid, particularly when Moghira had already sent a delegation of the people from Kufa. However, he waited so that Hasan bin 'Ali (as) and the sons of the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saw) may not be able to protest against this step. So, he postponed the (announcement of the crown prince till after the death of Imam Hasan bin 'Ali (as)."(۱

Not only were Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) and the Companions of the Holy Prophet (saw) against this nomination, but his own governors would also have opposed it. The names of Ziyad bin Abih and Marwan bin Hakam could be taken in this respect. Maulana Maodoodi writes that Muawiya wrote to Marwan bin al Hakam, the governor of Madina that he had (become old and wished to nominate someone in his life time as his successor. (۲

This shows that the policies of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) were so effective and his influence among the Muslims so great

p: ۱۵۹

۱- . Syed Abdul Aziz Salim - 'Tarikh al Daula al Arabia, Iskandar ia: Moassasa Shabab al .Jamiah, ۱۹۹۳,vol. ۲, p.۳۴۱

۲- Abul A'la Maududi - 'Khilafat -o-Mulukiyat', Lahore, Idara Tarjuman al Qur'an, ۱۹۹۰, .p.۱۵۰

that even though Muawiya wanted to, yet he could not violate this condition during the lifetime of the Imam (as). So he did it after the martyrdom of the Imam (as).However, the fact remains that even then he did not succeed in his plan and Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) and .his brother Imam Husayn (as) were successful in their mission

When Muawiya bin Yazid (Muawiya the Second) confessed in ۶۴ A.H. that his father and grandfather had oppressed Hazrat 'Ali (as) and the progeny of the Holy Prophet (saws), desecrated the Holy K'aba, shed the blood of Muslims, due to which he was not prepared to share that blame and cursed such monarchy. So, the family of Muawiya lost the (monarchy to another family after four or five years. (۱

As per these conditions, Muawiya was obliged to protect the life, property and honour of the public and would not file suit against the Shias of Imam 'Ali (as). Though outwardly there was peace, and civil war among the Muslims had been avoided after the Peace Treaty, yet there was no freedom for the general public the opponents of Muawiya were tortured and sometimes, to keep them out of his way, Muawiya used to get them killed .and their property etc. destroyed

We do not intend to go into the details, yet the fact remains that Muawiya tried all possible means to strengthen his rule. Although Muawiya and his government did not indulge in mass killing of the Shias, yet oppression and injustice

p: ۱۶۰

.Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut, Dar Sadir, ۱۹۶۰, vol.۲, p.۲۵۲ -۱

was practised against them. They were forced to use unworthy words against Hazrat 'Ali .(as) and those who refused to do so, their life, property and honour were in danger

Ziad bin Abih, the governor of Muawiya, turned out a large number of Shi'as from Kufa to Khurasan and forced them to fight against the Khawarij. An important case of the murder of Shi'as during the rule of Muawiya is that of Hajar bin A'dee and his companions, the .details of which we will discuss later

This incident also did not occur during the life time of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as). Therefore, it is not difficult to conclude that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was successful in saving the life and .honour of the majority of his Shi'as and other followers

He had made it known in his speech as well, telling the people that although the peace agreement was a big test for them and he was not unaware of its consequences, yet they should realize that whereas the Hallowed and Glorified God had guided them to the light of righteousness from the darkness of infidelity and polytheism through the guidance of his illustrious grand father, He had protected their life and honour through him (the Imam .(((as

The fifth condition was that Muawiya would not indulge in any conspiracy against the progeny of the Holy Prophet (saw). Although clear historical proof of Muawiya breaking this condition is not available, yet when he became old, he wanted that his son Yazid should become

the caliph, though he had not been able to attain that status himself. He realized that during the life time of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), he could not succeed in getting the allegiance for Yazid from the Muslims.

Therefore, he started the conspiracy to martyr Imam Al-Mujtaba (as). However, he did not want to get involved directly in the conspiracy of shedding the blood of the Imam as he was afraid of its consequences. But Marwan bin Hakam did the job for him. Some researchers try to exonerate Muawiya from this crime. In the chapter on the martyrdom of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) we have examined the narrations and the views expressed by the researchers.

Yet no one can deny that it was a common practice of Muawiya in those days to get an opponent killed to get rid of him. (۱)

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) was the greatest stumbling block in the way of his son becoming the heir apparent. Although Muawiya was successful in his conspiracy against the Ahlul Bayt (as) of the Holy Prophet (saws) after ten years of the peace treaty, by getting Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) poisoned, but the Muslims had developed strong feelings of hatred and enmity against him due to this act.

That is the reason why the researchers in general, who are not Shi'a, condemn this step strongly and consider it a dirty crime. The sixth condition of the peace treaty was that Imam 'Ali (as) will be remembered with dignity and honour.

Allama Maududi writes in

p: ۱۶۲

۱- Amir 'Ali - 'Mukhtasar Tarikh al Arab' (the Arabic transla tion of 'afeef B'albaki), Beirut, Dar ul Ilm , ۱۹۶۱, p.۷۸.

':the book 'Khilafat-o-Mulukiyat

Another very loathsome schism, started during the reign of Muawiya, was that he" himself, and under his instructions all his governors, very frequently used to revile Hazrat ‘Ali (as) so much so that in the mosque of the Holy Prophet (saws) itself, and from the pulpit, just in front of the mausoleum of the Holy Prophet (saws), they used to swear to .(Imam ‘Ali (as) who was one of the dearest relations of the Holy Prophet (saws

To include such dirty language in the Friday sermon was particularly an abhorable act from the religious and cultural point of view. On assuming the power, Hazrat Umar bin (Abdul Aziz changed this and such other bad practices of his family."(۱

Not only Allama Maududi but all historians mention this act in their valuable books and all students of history know that it is an established fact. Therefore, there is no need to quote the historical references for the same. Allama Ibn. Athir Jazaree writes that Muawiya had made an agreement with Imam Hasan (as) that he would not use undesirable words against Hazrat ‘Ali (as) during the life time of Imam Hasan (as) but he .did not fulfill this condition as well

Muawiya had introduced this schism with considerable pressure. In the whole Muslim world, wherever Friday prayers were held, Hazrat ‘Ali (as) was reviled in the sermons from the pulpit and, God forbid, it was said that Amirul Muminin Hazrat ‘Ali (as) was an enemy of God, and abusive

p: ۱۶۳

Abul A'la Maududi - 'Khilafat -o-Mulukiyat', Lahore, Idara Tarjuman al Qur’an, ۱۹۹۰, - ۱ .p.۱۵۴

words against him were used in the 'Qunoot'. This schism continued until the rule of .Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz

Ahlul Sunnat complain that the companions of the Holy Prophet (saws) are called names but they forget the harsh reality that it was Muawiya who started to indulge in mud .(slinging against the Companion of the Holy Prophet (saws

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) knew that Muawiya would indulge in taunting remarks and abusive language against his illustrious father. That is why he put this condition in the peace treaty and made it quite clear to Muawiya that he would take very serious notice of such .practice which would not at all be tolerated

Amirul Muminin Hazrat 'Ali (as) had himself predicted before his followers that Muawiya would indulge in using undesirable words against him and would force others to do the .same. A sermon of the Imam (as) in Nahjul Balaghah is a proof of the same

:Dr. Taha Husayn writes

In spite of the fact that Imam Hasan (as) wanted to maintain the policy of understanding" with Muawiya, yet when Imam Hasan (as)'s father was remembered with undesirable words or when the Imam (as) would come across someone who had conspired against his father or revolted against him, Imam Hasan (as) would show extreme disapproval and (it would result in even harsh words being exchanged." (۱

Ibn. Abi al Hadid quotes Madaini that Imam Hasan (as) warned Muawiya bin Khudaij and Habib bin Muslama of the curse of Almighty God and very serious consequences

p: ۱۶۴

Taha Husayn - 'Islamiyat, al Fitnatul Kubra - 'Ali-o-Nubuwah', Beirut, Darul Ilm, - ۱ .۱۹۹۱,p.۹۸۶

(for reviling Hazrat 'Ali (as). (١

These two persons were prominent among those who used to propagate the policies of Muawiya and were his blind followers. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) warned them, Muawiya, and his other followers as well, that he would not keep quiet simply by putting the condition in the peace treaty; rather he would encounter this dirty politics of Muawiya with full force .at his command

Abul Faraj Isphahani writes that after entering Kufa, Muawiya addressed from the pulpit while Imam Hasan (as) and Imam Husayn (as) were sitting near it. Muawiya used abusive .(language against both Imam 'Ali (as) and Imam Hasan (as

At this Imam Husayn (as) revolted, rose to reply but Imam Hasan (as) caught hold of him, asking him to sit down and himself rising, said:"O, the one calling 'Ali (as) names, know that I am Hasan and my father is 'Ali (as) while you are Muawiya and your father is Saghar; my mother is Fatima (sa) and your mother Hind; my grandfather is Muhammad (saws) the Holy Prophet, and yours is Uteba bin Rabia'h; my grandmother is Hazrat .Khadija (sa) while yours is Qateela

May God curse the one among us who is not spoken well of, whose family is remembered with contempt, whose mischief and rebellion spread in the past and present and whose infidelity and malice are quite old." Hearing this all the persons siting in the mosque '.(immediately said amen ('Ameen

This shows that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) resolutely opposed this reprehensible practice and

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.Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo, Mustafa al Babi, ١٩۶٢, vol.١۶, p.١٨ -١

strongly resisted Muawiya's politics in this regard. He did not come down to the level of Muawiya but replied him in such a dignified manner that all the Muslims supported him despite Muawiya's political and military strength. All the writers of the incident have said .(amen and we feel that every Muslim will say amen at this prayer of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) organized a group, led by Hajar bin Adi, who started to resist this schism and gave up their lives for the cause, proving that they were ready for martyrdom but would neither use any words against the true caliph of the Holy Prophet (saws), the .leader of the pious ones, nor would allow any one to do so

Although these persons sacrificed their lives to protect their faith, this incident created very strong feelings of anger, revolt and revenge in the whole Muslim Ummah against Muawiya and his government which continued for a long time. That is why the historians reserved pages after pages of their books for this incident. We will try to throw more light .on the incident in later chapters

Anyway, the fact remains that Muawiya did not honour this condition of the peace treaty and started a most undesirable schism against Hazrat 'Ali (as). But history shows that he had to pay a very heavy price for the same. The resistance against him was not an ordinary one but behind it was the political thought and planning for the same by Imam Al-Mujtaba

p: ۱۶۶

as), whose political and religious support started the protest movement with the result) .that the schism could not last long

We have provided the evidence that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), rather than demanding financial support, had asked for compensation for those who had suffered in the wars .during the period of his illustrious father in Siffin etc

The acceptance of this condition by Muawiya implied that he had accepted that he was responsible for shedding the blood of Muslims in these wars by starting the aggression, and therefore that he should be the one to pay the reparation for the same to those who had died or were injured in these wars. The historians write that Muawiya instigated the people of Basra, telling them that Imam Hasan (as) wished to empty their Baitul Maal. Being misled by Muawiya's agents, the inhabitants of Basra refused to pay the revenue of (Darab Jerd, saying that it was their money. (۱

Though Muawiya did not pay the war reparations to those who had fought on the side of Hazrat 'Ali (as), but as a consequence, they also went further against him, realizing that Muawiya was not prepared to pay their due share as well. Anyway, the confession made .by Muawiya in this regard was itself his political defeat

Conclusion

We have only thrown some light on the results of the terms and conditions of the Peace Treaty, but persons with deep insight into the atmosphere, political background and the issues involved at the time conclude that, under the

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Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', vol. ۳ p.۴۷; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh, Beirut: Dar -۱ .Ahya al..., ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۲, p.۴۴۶

difficult conditions, all the political and other steps taken by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as)) at the time were much deeper and calculated than those of Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan.

The grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) had not only taken into account the conditions prevailing at the time but had the foresight of future as well. He took the maximum advantage of diplomatic and political conditions prevailing at the time. The proof of the success of his political moves is that the well known political and religious personalities of the time, including the wives of the Holy Prophet (saws), his Companions and ulama, came out in strong opposition to Muawiya.

The Formal Announcement of Peace

After a long struggle, the understanding between Imam Hasan (as) and Muawiya had been reached on various issues. The Imam (as) had, after the acceptance of the conditions demanded by him, agreed to hand over power to Muawiya for a specified period.

During this period, high powered delegations had been exchanged and signatures from the leaders on both sides on the terms of the agreement had been obtained. Particularly, from the Amir of Syria, a number of firm commitments had been taken, and he had vouched, affirming Almighty God as witness, that he would fully abide by the terms and conditions of the Peace Treaty. Although all the formalities of the treaty had been completed, yet the formal announcement of the treaty was awaited.

After the treaty, Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) instructed Qais bin Sa'd, through a letter, that he should return to

p: ۱۶۸

Kufa and he himself decided to go back to Kufa along with the rest of the army at Madain. According to the historians, Qais addressed his army after receiving the Imam (as)'s .letter

After analyzing the existing situation, he told the soldiers that they had to decide whether they wanted to continue the fight without the Imam (as) or they would accept the allegiance of a misguided person. Just after his speech, all the soldiers in one voice agreed to a ceasefire, after which he had no hesitation in leaving the northern parts of (Iraq, where he had laid a siege against the Syrian army.(١

If this is correct, then it is not difficult to conclude that Qais was personally strictly against giving allegiance to Muawiya. He considered war as the only solution of the problem. However, it seems that he could not fully appreciate the very poor conditions in Iraq and .the prevailing dangerous situation, and was carried away by emotions

Despite his intelligence, bravery, military skills and honesty, he had an element of disagreement with the Central command. Perhaps that was the reason why he was not given the exclusive command of the vanguard unit, which was given to a three member consultative council, under which Ubaidullah bin Abbas was the senior one and Qais was .assigned the number two position

The armies of Syria and Iraq had gathered in strength at Nakhaila, a suburb of Kufa city. After attaining an armed upper hand, it was very likely that the

p: ١۶٩

Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari', (al Ummum wal Mulk), Beirut, Darul Kutub al Ilmiah ١٩٨٨, vol -١ ٣, p. ١۶۶; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fi al Tarikh, Beirut Dar Ahya al Turas al Arabi, ١٩٨٩, vol. ٢, p.۴۴٧; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh, Hyderabad: Daira al Maa'rif al Uthmania, ١٩٧١, vol. ۴, p.١۶٠; .Dinawari - 'Al Akhbar al Tiwal, Cairo, Dar Ahya al Kutub, ١٩۶٠, p.٢١٨

Amir of Syria would put pressure on the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) to give up the caliphate and to accept him as the religious caliph, just like Hazrat Abu Bakr had .nominated Hazrat Umar for caliphate

This was the only wayin which his government and its acts would attain legal and constitutional status. The Amir of Syria did not stop there but demanded that Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) should seek forgiveness from Muawiya for waging war against Syria. He spread rumour among the political circles in Kufa that Imam Hasan (as) had handed over (the caliphate to Muawiya and was himself retiring. (۱

The residents of Kufa were already depressed from defeat and they were likely to be adversely affected by such rumours. Although they did not accept these rumours as true, yet they were gripped with anxiety and doubt. However, they had very closely seen the attractive personality of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws), his refined manners, .his impeccable character, knowledge, piety and political farsightedness

Apart from these, his valuable services to the cause of Islam were very well known and appreciated by all. Perhaps due to these qualities of the Imam (as) they had earlier .chosen him collectively as their caliph despite so many disagreements in Kufa

Under a difficult situation, they were anxiously waiting for the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) to appear personally and to address them publicly to explain his version of the peace, to remove the doubts created in their minds. They did

p: ۱۷۰

Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', p.۱۶۳; Baladhuri - 'Ansab al Ashraf', Beirut, Darul Ta'aruf ۱۹۷۷, - ۱ vol. ۳, p.۴۳; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Shabaan, vol. ۲ .p.۳۹۱

not have to wait long and the Imam (as), after duly praising Almighty God, addressed :them from the pulpit thus

O men! Doubtless Almighty God guided you through the first of us (the Holy Prophet" (saw)) and through the last of us, (i.e.Imam Hasan (as) himself), He has saved you from mass killings. Undoubtedly, the power is for a temporary period and such worldly ranks keep changing. The Merciful God has commanded His prophet that He is not sure (whether he would take it as a trial or a source of pleasure for a short while." (۱)

O men! for sure a pious person is very intelligent and the transgressor and sinful person" is quite foolish. You may go anywhere in the East or West, yet you will find no one except me and my brother Husayn whose grandfather is the Holy Prophet (saws). You are well aware that the Merciful God guided you to the righteous path through our grandfather Hazrat Muhammad (saws) and saved you from going astray by showing you the way of .light from darkness and ignorance

Moreover, He gave you respect from disgrace and increased your small numbers into a large one. Undoubtedly, Muawiya has tried hard to snatch my right from me. In such a situation, I have kept the welfare of Muslim Ummah in view. (On the other side), you had paid allegiance to me, vowing that you will make peace with whom I make peace and you will wage war against whom I wage

p: ۱۷۱

Masudi - 'Muruj ad Dhahab', Beirut, Darul Fikr, ۱۹۸۹, vol. ۳, p.۹; Ibn. Kathir - 'Al bidayah -۱ wal Nihayah, Beirut, Maktaba al M'arif, ۱۹۷۴, vol.۸, p.۱۷; Husayn Dayar Bakri - 'Tarikh al-Khamis', Beirut, Muassasah Shabaan, vol. ۲ p.۳۹۱; Ibn. Khaldun - 'Tarikh-e-Ibn. Khaldun', Beirut, Muassasah al'Alami, ۱۹۷۱, vol. ۲, p.۱۸۷; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil fit Tarikh', vol. ۲, p.۴۴۷; Tabari - 'Tarikh al Tabari'. vol. ۳, p۱۶۷; Yaqubi - 'Tarikh al-Yaqubi', Beirut, Dar Sadir, vol.۲, p.۲۱۵; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, Ansarian Publications pp.۱۵۴; Ibn. Atham - 'Al Futuh', p.۱۶۳; Ibn. Sabbagh Maliki- 'al Fusul al Muhimmah', Najaf, Maktaba Darul Kutub, p.۱۴۵; Ibn. Qutaiba Dinawari - 'Al Imama wal Siyasa', Qum, Intisharat al Razi, ۱۴۱۳ A.H. vol. ۱, p.۸۵; Hakim Naishapuri - 'Al Mustadrak' Beirut, Darul M'arifa, (the book 'Marifatus Sahaba'), vol.۳, p.۱۷۵; Abdul Qadir Badran,

'Tahzib Tarikhe Damishq', Beirut, Darul Ahya al Turas al Arabi, ۱۹۸۷, vol ۴, p.۲۲۶-۲۲۷; Muhib al Tabari - Dhakair al Uqba, Cairo, Maktaba al Qudsi, ۱۳۵۶ A.H., p.۱۴۰; Ibn. Khallakan - 'Wafayat al 'ayan', Qum, Manshurat al Razi, ۱۹۸۴, vol. ۲, p.۶۶; Ibn. 'Asakir - 'Tarikh-e-Ibn. 'Asakir' (Tarikh-e-Madinate Dam ishq), Mohammd Baqar's research; Al Mahmudi - 'Tarjuma al Imam al Hasan', Beirut, Muassasah Mahmudi, ۱۹۸۰, pp. ۱۸۷-۸۷; Baladhuri - Al-Ansab al Ashraf, Beirut, Darut Taaruf, vol. ۳ p.۴۳; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al-Imam al Hasan bin ‘Ali', Cairo, Egypt, Ministry of Endowment, ۱۹۹۴, p.۱۳۰.

war. Now, I have made peace with Muawiya. My action is for your benefit and it would safeguard you." (1)

To explain the stand taken by Imam Hasan (as) about peace, his sermon is very significant and that is why the historians and biographers have repeatedly quoted it, and there is a chain of narrators which leaves no doubt about its authenticity. Though there are so many points in this important sermon which need attention and elaboration, yet it seems appropriate to draw attention to some of the conjectures by a few historians in this regard.

In the history by Tabari and some others, it is mentioned that this sermon was delivered at the instance of 'Umru bin 'Aas. This way 'Umru bin 'Aas wanted to convey to the people that Imam Hasan (as) was unable to give an appropriate talk to the people on the issue. However, after the Imam (as)'s sermon, he felt ashamed. (2)

A group of researchers accepts this guess as correct and S.H.M. Jafri is one of them. But Dr. Taha Husayn totally disagreeing writes:

"Hasan (as) had delivered sermons to the people on a number of occasions during the life time of his illustrious father as well as after him. Stammering or any other weakness was not noticed in any of his sermons earlier. Earlier as well as later, the Imam (as) was regarded as a member of the illustrious family, anyone of whose members was never known to hesitate or falter in conversation or address.

Rather this

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۱- Same as reference ۱۴۶

۲- Tarikh al-Tabari, vol. ۳, p.۱۶۷; Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil Fit Tarikh', vol.۲, p.۴۴۷.

highly revered family was known for its unmatched qualities of eloquence, command over the language and ability to clearly distinguish between the truth and falsehood. No one could match them in this field. So, Imam Hasan (as) addressed the people and nothing better could be said than what he said and no better expression of truthful ideas could be (expressed than what he did."(۱

Apart from Dr. Taha Husayn, the analysis by Dr. Abdul Aziz Salim in this respect is also :very interesting. He writes

In both conditions, (whether Hasan (as) himself initiated peace or he considered the war" against the Syrians as unhelpful), the decision by Hasan (as) reflects deep reflection and realistic assessment of the given state of affairs. Hasan (as) has compared his action with those of his grandfather because he saved he Arabs from bloodshed while his illustrious grandfather had provided them guidance towards truth from misguidance and infidelity." ((۲

There is no doubt that every word of this historical sermon of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) has very deep meaning and significance. We consider it appropriate to refer to a few points :for reflection by the readers

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) reminded the people that under no circumstances they should (۱) ignore the quality of chastity and purity of thought and action of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws) and the great services that they had rendered. The people had been suffering from polytheism and infidelity and had gone astray when the Merciful God showed them the light of truth

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Taha Husayn - 'Islamiat, Al Fitnah al Kubra 'Ali-o-Nubuwah', (Islamiyat), Beirut, Dar ul -۱ .Ilm, ۱۹۹۱, p. ۹۸۱

Abdul Aziz Salim - 'Tarikh al Daulat al Arabia, Iskandaria: Muassasah Shabab al - ۲ .Jame'ah, ۱۹۹۳, vol.۲, p.۳۳۷

.((through the first of the household (the Holy Prophet (saws

Likewise, now the lives of the people were in danger and it was quite likely that there would have been mass killings without any aim or purpose and the bloodshed would have been in vain. But Almighty God in His grace saved them through another member of the household of the Holy Prophet (saws), i.e. Imam Hasan (as). This style of eloquence, which .is reflected in the speeches of Imam Hasan (as), is unique

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) knew that earlier the people had considered Muawiya more (۲) clever and cunning than Hazrat 'Ali (as) and likewise they thought that Muawiya was more clever than Imam Hasan (as). The people had thus become convinced that the persons, who acquired wealth and power, whether by hook or crook, were intelligent, while those .who acted within the bounds commanded by Almighty God were simple and ignorant

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) negated this approach by the people and indicated that wise and intelligent persons were only those who were virtuous and pious bondsmen of Almighty God. It is so because the pious ones do not get involved in sin and disobedience of God for the pleasure of a few days. Thus, they do not get the displeasure of the Creator of the .universe who has complete authority over their lives and death

Therefore, they live with respect in this world and would get ever lasting reward in the hereafter. On the other hand, those who oppress the

people, misuse the funds of Baitul Maal, collect wealth through embezzlement or bribery .or acquire worldly power by such means, are not clever but really foolish

They have earned everlasting punishment in exchange for a few days' pleasure and have deprived themselves of the blessings of the Creator of the universe, thus causing great loss to them. If they possessed true intelligence and knowledge, they would not commit .such foolishness

Imam Hasan (as), reflecting the bravery and courage, which he had inherited from his (۳) household, made a public declaration that caliphate had been his right and the efforts of the Amir of Syria to snatch it from him amounted to depriving him of his right. However, for the welfare of the Muslim Ummah and to protect the life of Muslims, he had .temporarily given up the effort to achieve this right through armed struggle

This decision of Imam Hasan (as) reflected the Alawi politics. His illustrious father had also postponed his struggle for caliphate to an appropriate time in the interest of the glory of Islam and for the sake of the unity of Muslims. Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) made it clear that .the welfare of Muslims was upper most in his mind rather than personal considerations

On reflecting the words of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), it would be clear that he did not say that he had handed over the caliphate to Muawiya after his political maneuvering, nor that they should give allegiance to Muawiya, which impression has wrongly been created in some

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histories. Rather he had stated that he had postponed for some time the steps to recover .his right and that he had given the right to rule to Muawiya till his lifetime only

This point is clear in the initial lines of his sermon where he has stated that the struggle for power continues almost all the time. Therefore, the allegiance to him, which the .people had paid at the time of his caliphate, was not affected by the peace treaty

The people were reminded that under the allegiance they had pledged that they would wage war against whom he waged war and would be bound by peace with whom he made peace. This clearly shows that he had not absolved them of their allegiance to him. .Rather he asked his followers not to wage war against Muawiya for a limited period

If some among the Muslim intelligentsia still insist that Muawiya had become a caliph, then they would have to decide whether caliphate is a religious status or a chair for .kingdom or rule which can be had by anyone with the force of power

After analysing the state of affairs in Iraq from ۴۰ A.H. till the time of peace treaty, it appears that though Muawiya had acquired the power to rule, yet he could not acquire any legal justification for his government which his predecessor caliphs had. The stand of Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) on caliphate and monarchy became very clear when Muawiya retorted during the sermon: "O Hasan! You

."wanted to become a caliph, but could not become one

The guardian of caliphate gave such a comprehensive but brief reply to Muawiya which reflected a distinct difference between caliphate and monarchy and this distinction is likely to remain till this world lasts. If the Imam (as) had not shown the courage on that occasion, the Muslims would not have been able to distinguish between caliphate and monarchy till doomsday. No knowledgeable person can deny that a better definition of .caliphate had not been given till that time in the whole Muslim world

The Imam (as) said: "caliph is one who abides by the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (saws) and makes obedience to Allah his way of life. But one, who forms oppression as the basis of his government, suspends the rule of God and chooses the pleasures of this world as .be all and end all, then he is not a caliph but a monarch

He has acquired a kingdom. He would benefit from it for a short while but later he would be the loser. So its pleasures will be lost but the harm will be lasting. It will be, as Almighty God has said: 'I am not sure whether it is a test for you or you have been given a short (respite in this world'." (۱)

This sermon had a deep effect on the people. The religious groups, being affected by Imam Al-Mujtaba (as), refused to call Muawiya a caliph. Instead they called him a ,"monarch" or king

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۱- . Muhib al Tabari - 'Dhakair al 'Uqba', p.۱۴۰; Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin', Najaf, Maktaba al Haidariya, vol.۱, p.۴۷; Muhammad al Baihaqi - 'Al Muhasin wal Masavi, Egypt, Muhammad Amin al Khanji, ۱۹۰۶, p.۶۳; Ibn. Abi al Hadid, 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah', Cairo, Dar Ahya al Kutub, ۱۹۶۳, vol. ۱۶, p.۴۹; Hasan Kamil al Maltavi - 'Al Imam al Hasan bin 'Ali', p.۱۲۲; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, .Ansarian Publications pp. ۱۵۱-۱۵۲

although they knew that Muawiya did not like it. In this regard, history records the reaction of S'ad bin Abi Waqas, Abu Huraira and other venerable Companions of the Holy .(Prophet (saws

The rulers after Amir Muawiya were neither considered the rightful religious caliphs ('Khalifa-e-Rashid') nor were they elected through a consultative council ('shura), allegiance or other forms of election in practice at the time. Rather those who wielded power used to occupy the chair of monarchy, i.e. might was right. The fact is that historians learnt to distinguish between caliphate and monarchy from Imam Hasan (as). ((۱

Only through making this rise and fall in Islamic history as the base, could Maulana Maududi explain in detail the distinction between caliphate and monarchy. His services in this regard are highly commendable. However, it is surprising that he ignored a great person like Imam Hasan (as), who, fearlessly and through his great courage had drawn the line between caliphate and monarchy, and through whom an intellectual like him was !able to perform the said service

Apart from the public, Muawiya was also affected by the sermons of Imam Hasan (as). He expressed his strong reaction to the sermon, which has been recorded by the .biographers

The historians Abul Faraj Isphahani, Ibn. Abi al Hadid M'otazilli and others quote Aboo Ishaque with reference to Sh'obi that on that day they heard Muawiya as saying: "Remember whatever treaty I had made with Hasan bin ‘Ali (as), is trampled under my feet. I will never fulfill

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Syed Mohd. Vakil - 'Al Umayyun bain al Sharq wal Gharb', Beir ut, Dar al Shamiah, ۱۹۹۵, -۱ vol. ۱ p.۲۵; Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', .Qum, Ansarian Publications, p.۱۵۴

(it." (۱

According to the analysis by researchers, while attacking Iraq, the main aim of Muawiya was not just to occupy it but to defeat the Iraqi army and to force Imam Hasan (as) to (surrender in his favour.(۲

Now that he had not succeeded in his real aim, he was carried away by his passion and :uttered the words that were in his heart. He further said

By God, I did not wage war against you so that you may say your prayers, keep fast," perform Hajj or give 'zakah'. All this you were already performing. My only aim in waging war against you was that I may rule over you. Almighty God in His grace has given me (that opportunity which you do not like."(۳

The historians and biographers write that through these words Muawiya made his real aim clear, which was vague till then. He exposed himself by mentioning the real aim of his waging the war. Till then, he had been making the people believe that he was fighting to take revenge for the death of Uthman. During the Jamal and Siffin wars he had been .successful in his earlier camouflage

Though Hazrat 'Ali (as) had replied to the slander through logic and supportive arguments but many simple persons had been carried away under the false slogan of revenge. However, Kufa was witness today that Imam Hasan (as), through his wise policy, planning .and great patience, exposed Muawiya's true aim

As far as the question of one party declining

p: ۱۷۹

.'Abul Faraj - 'Maqatil al Talibin; Ibn. Abi al Hadid - 'Sharh al-Nahjul Balaghah -۱

Husayn Muhammad Jafri - 'The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam', Qum, -۲ .Ansarian Publications p. ۱۳۴

.Ibid . -۳

to abide by the peace treaty at the time of the formal announcement of the same, is concerned, it was a clear breach of the firm commitment, which was a bad omen for the .residents of Kufa

They were already afraid of Muawiya. Now they realized that Muawiya had no respect for any Islamic moral standard. However, as far as the question of breaching the terms of the treaty is concerned, it was premature to say that Muawiya had that power, as only .the conditions in future would determine the same

Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) did not stay for long in Kufa after the formal announcement of the peace treaty. Even some of his devotees objected to peace and he was even called the one who caused 'disgrace to the believers'. Yet, can it be concluded that his peace ?agreement was a political defeat

Intelligent persons should keep in view the fact that in every movement there are emotional and non serious persons who are unable to visualize the future due to their limited knowledge and short cited view. Is it not a fact that such objections had been raised against the Holy Prophet (saws) himself when he was busy in negotiations with the ?Quraish at Hudaibiya

The Muslims were quite unhappy about not being able to perform Hajj, and about the peace agreement made by the Holy Prophet (saw). That is why the Companions of the .Holy Prophet (saws) were somewhat reluctant in carrying out some of his commands

Some had even started

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doubting the very prophethood of the Holy Prophet (saws). History proves that though some Muslims had considered the Peace Treaty at Hudaibiya as a defeat, yet Almighty (God declared it as a great victory ('fathe mobin').(١

Later they realized that often what cannot be achieved through war, can be had through peace and understanding. Before Hudaibiya, till ٧ A.H., the total number of Muslims was .two thousand while within one year they had reached the figure of ten thousand

While the grandfather of Imam Hasan (as) had spread his message to the tribes in the Arabian peninsula through words and deed by making peace at Hudaibiya, and had rendered the propaganda by Quraish ineffective, Imam Hasan (as) had, through his statesmanlike policies, saved his supporters, the Muslims in general, and the pious .Companions, from bloodshed

He made the politics and propaganda of Muawiya totally unsuccessful and deprived him of the chance to become a rightful religious caliph. Moreover, he managed to make Muawiya confess that revenge for the blood of Uthman was just an excuse for acquiring .power, which had caused the bloodshed of thousands of Muslims

After the transfer of power, people got a chance to have a close look at Muawiya and the persons near him. We are sure if people understand the philosophy behind the peace at Hudaibiya, they would also learn the philosophy behind the peace of Imam Hasan (as). If Imam Al-Mujtaba (as) had not made this decision at the right time, the blood of thousands of Muslims

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('.Refers to the books on 'Life of the Holy Prophet (saws -١

.would have been shed without any gain from the same

Amir Muawiya would have assumed the title of 'rightly guided caliph' and after that, all his steps and acts would have been considered as legal and according to Islamic law. He could have easily gained the favour of general public by declaring Imam Hasan (as) and his party as war hungry and himself as the seeker of peace. After that, his policy of changing the Islamic caliphate into the kingdom of Qaiser and Kisra would have been .successful without any resistance

We regret to say that among Muslims, whether Sunnis or Shi'a, intellectuals or ulama, the great achievement of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) has not been fully appreciated. Though these circles regularly observe the sad incident of Karbala each year (and remember the great sacrifice of Imam Husayn (as

Yet they forget that had there been no peace treaty by Imam Hasan (as), Imam Husayn (as) would not have been able to accomplish what he did at Karbala. By inculcating a new spirit in the Islamic movement, Imam Hasan (as) had set the stage for Karbala. This way he is the first architect of Karbala. We will discuss this point in greater detail in the next .chapter

Imam Hasan (as) was returning to Madina, the city of his grandfather, along with the members of his household and brother Imam Husayn (as). A large number of his devotees and Shi'as had assembled to say goodbye to him. They were wailing and

.requesting their Imam or caliph to stay at Kufa

They were assuring him that this time the whole of Kufa would be with him and they would not show any weakness towards him. But the Imam (as) turned down their request .and asked them to abide by the peace treaty

Reminding them of his piety and nobility, he instructed them to follow his commands as a religious duty and to consider following him obligatory. After a few more instructions, he .continued his journey to Madina

This was a very sad hour for the people of Kufa when the grandson of the Holy Prophet (saws) was departing from them, as they were realising that due to their own mistakes they could not defend his caliphate and they themselves were responsible for the defeat. While the Imam (as) had just reached Qadisiah, he got a message from Muawiya :requesting him to fight against a group of 'Kharjis'. In reply the Imam wrote

If I wanted to fight any Muslim, I would prefer to wage war against you. For sure, in the" interest of reforming the Muslim Ummah and to protect their life, I have given it up."(۱)

This reply of the Imam (as) shows that he had not just rejected the caliphate of Muawiya verbally, but in practice as well he would not follow him. He was not hesitant in saying that he had made the decision in favour of peace only for the welfare of the Muslims. Otherwise, in his view, the

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.Ibn. Athir - 'Al Kamil' vol.۲, p.۴۴۹ -۱

war would have been fought against Muawiya rather than against the 'Khawarij'. The Imam (as) had inherited this brave and courageous stand against his rival from his .illustrious family

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About center

In the name of Allah

هَلْيَسْتَوِيالَّذِينَيَعْلَمُونَوَالَّذِينَلَايَعْلَمُونَ

?Are those who know equal to those who do not know

al-Zumar: ٩

:Introduction

Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan, from ٢٠٠٧, under the authority of Ayatollah Haj SayyedHasanFaqihImami (God blesses his soul), by sincere and daily efforts of university and seminary elites and sophisticated groups began its activities in .religious, cultural and scientific fields

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Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan in order to facilitate and accelerate the accessibility of researchers to the books and tools of research, in the field of Islamic science, and regarding the multiplicity and dispersion of active centers in this field and numerous and inaccessible sources by a mere scientific intention and far from any kind of social, political, tribal and personal prejudices and currents, based on performing a project in the shape of (management of produced and published works from all Shia centers) tries to provide a rich and free collection of books and research papers for the experts, and helpful contents and discussions for the educated generation and all classes .of people interested in reading, with various formats in the cyberspace

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.It's obvious that all the responsibilities are due to the author

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We would appreciate the centers, institutes, publications, authors and all honorable .friends who contributed their help and data to us to reach the holy goal we follow

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